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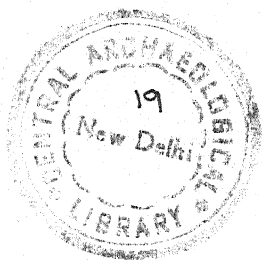
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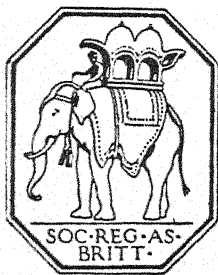
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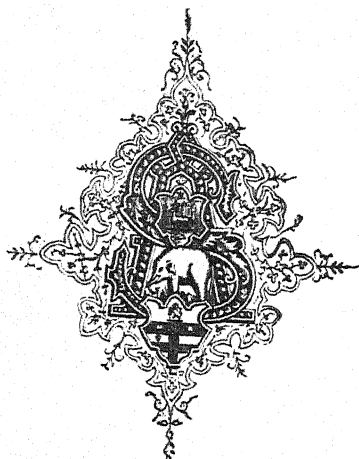
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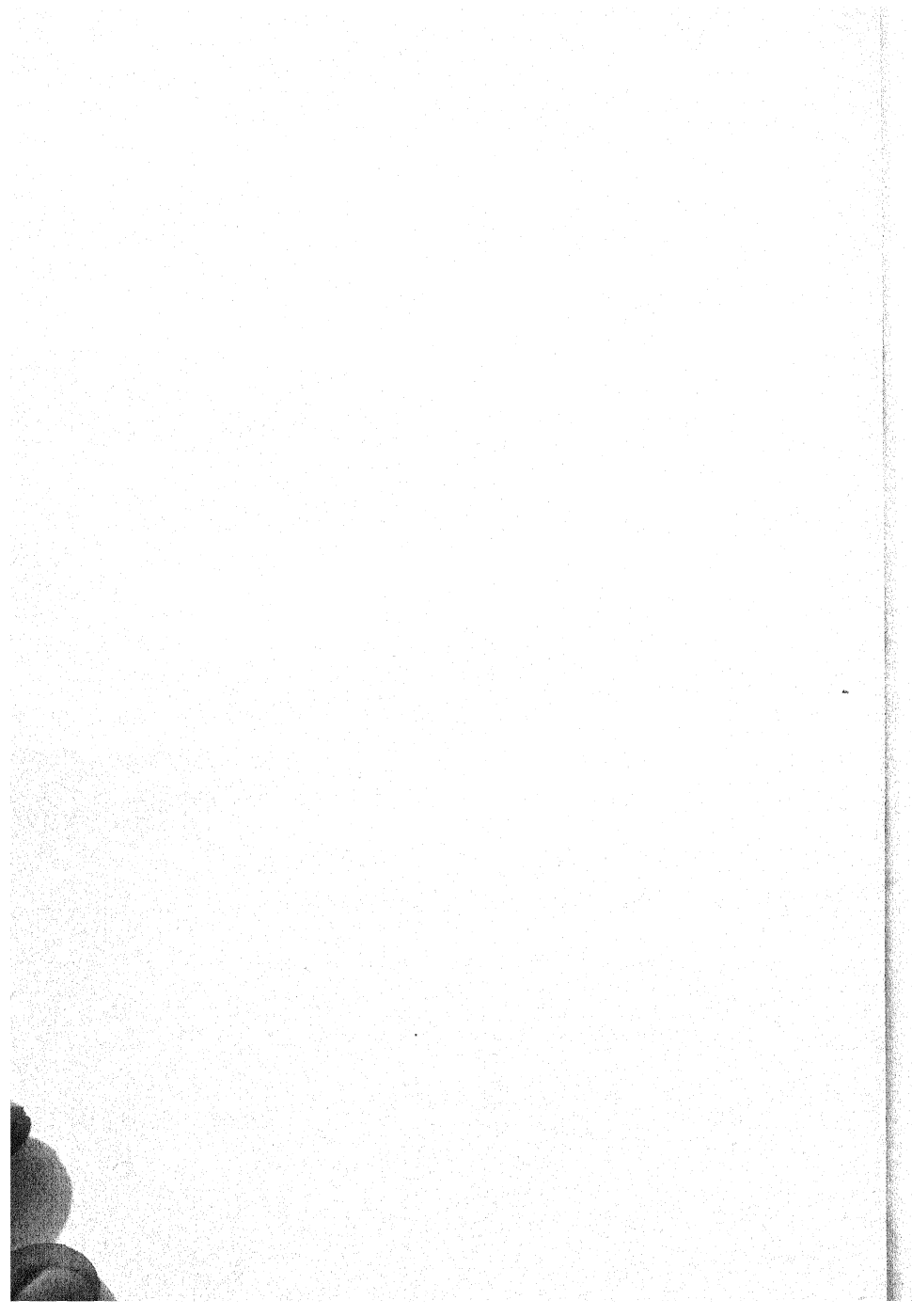
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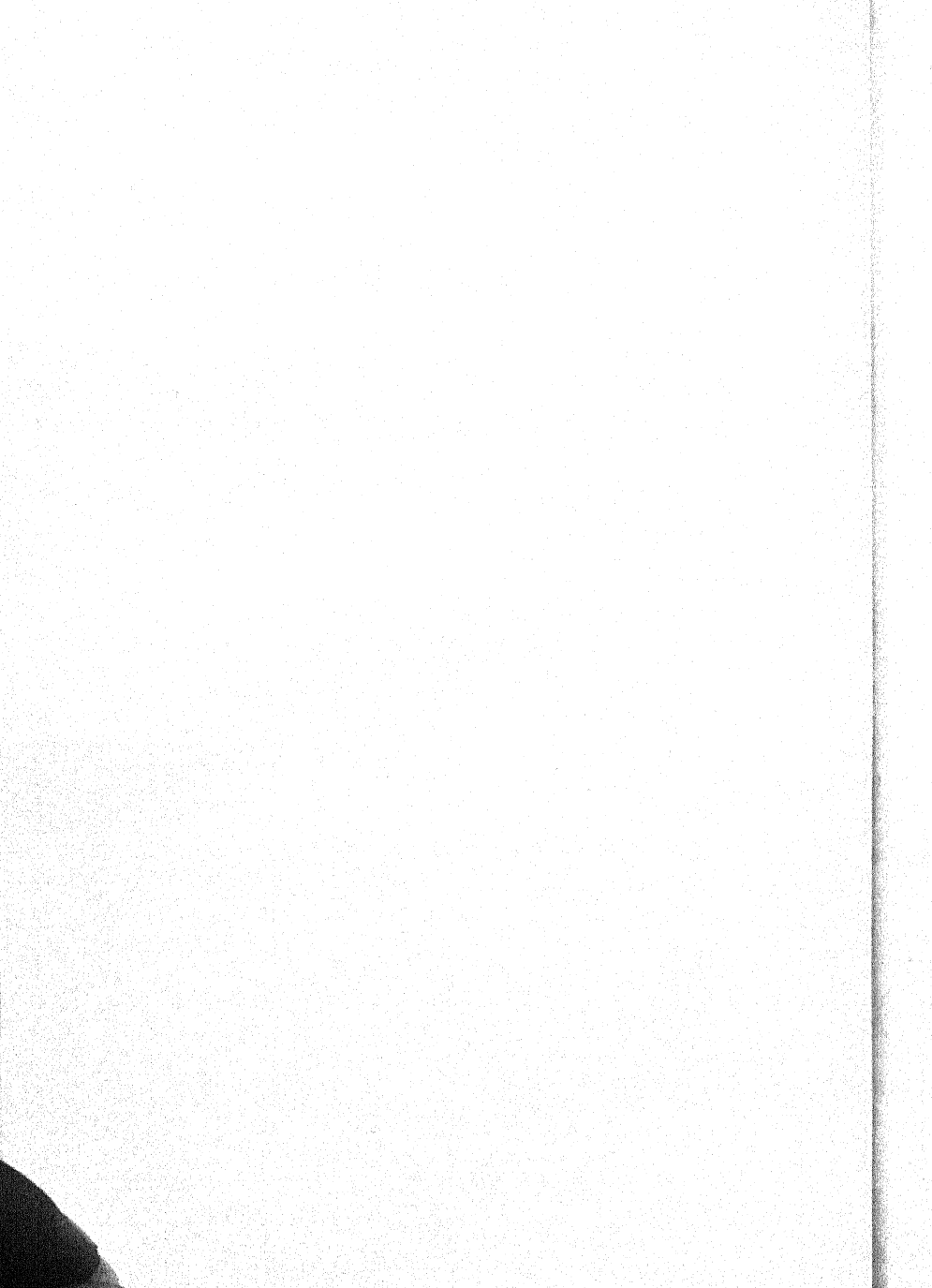
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dedicated

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memory

of

MARC AUREL STEIN

Scholar & Explorer.



THE HERMIT IN THE FOREST (Sung).

conveyed by this picture is one of subtle harmony, flowing curves, and straight lines, strong action and repose.

I

A SUNG PAINTING OF "THE HERMIT IN THE FOREST"

? by Lung-mun, Eleventh Century

It was of this Sung picture that Roger Fry wrote : " It is certainly the work of a great master. These simple economical lines have a strong evocative power, giving us not only the whole space and atmosphere of this woodland scene but a feeling of a remote and mysterious mood to which the figure of the hermit wrapped in profound meditation as he watches the deer in the park adds a note of poignancy." This is a very surprising judgment. For the composition is crude and strangely lacking in integration. At the first glance one feels a disagreeable impression, and on scrutinizing more closely one sees the causes of this impression in all the component elements of the picture. The trees are crude, stumpy, and insensitive, as if cut out of flat cardboard. The centre of the composition of this picture is the large trunk of the tree turning to the right. Already the right side of the picture is overloaded with other trunks and with the distorted figure of the hermit. The blank space on the left side is quite overbalanced by the weight on the right.

The heavy, monotonous tree trunks, with their poverty of interpretation, are very far from the best Sung conception of sensitive and rhythmic beauty.

I have chosen this picture to illustrate by contrast the lack of those very qualities which make the excellence of " Ladies Preparing Silk ".



Archæological Notes from the Hindukush Region

By † SIR AUREL STEIN

(PLATES III-V)

I.—A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM PUNIĀL

THIS is a preliminary account of some finds of archæological interest which have recently come to my notice in the tracts comprised within the Gilgit Agency south of the Hindukush. Separated by high ranges from the northern extremity of the Indian North-West Frontier, these tracts are too remote for their population of Dardic speech to have directly shared in the development of Indo-Aryan civilization in the great plains along the Indus and Ganges. Nor have they been immediately exposed to the invasions and cultural influences from the west which have affected that civilization within historical times. Apart from reliable but very scant notices in the Chinese Annals, such written records of the past of these tracts as exist do not reach back much further than the advent of Islām. Hence any relics attesting the conditions prevailing there in earlier periods may claim special interest.

On first passing in 1900 through the Gilgit district, economically more important than the rest of those tracts, I had occasion to visit and describe the great rock-carved image of Buddha found at Naupūr village.¹ Thirty years later, on returning from my fourth expedition into Chinese Turkestan, I was able to give a first notice of the remarkable collection of Buddhist manuscripts on birch-bark and paper which an accidental discovery, followed by "irresponsible digging", had brought to light from one of three small ruined Stūpas near that image.² Professor Sylvain Lévi was unable to follow up, as he had hoped, his expert description of two manuscripts from that great deposit of Buddhist canonical texts³ by the examination of the whole collection. Subsequent publications have amply demonstrated the flourishing state of Buddhist cult and doctrine when that deposit was made.⁴

That the current use of Sanskrit as found in these manuscripts was not confined in Gilgit to texts of Buddhist canonical literature is now proved by a long Sanskrit inscription which Captain A. W. Redpath, Assistant Political Agent, Gilgit, was the first to discover

¹ See *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 17 sq. ² See *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 863 ff.

³ See *Journal Asiatique*, tome ccxx, pp. 13 ff.

in the Puniāl tract up the Gilgit river. From the information kindly supplied to me in 1941, with a photograph by Major G. C. L. Crichton, the Political Agent, Gilgit, I learned that the rock bearing the inscription is situated near the small village of Hātun on the right bank of the Ishkūman river just above its junction with the main feeder of the Gilgit river coming from Gūpis. Subsequently, on a request addressed by me to Major Crichton, satisfactory estampages of the inscription were supplied to me early in 1941, prepared by Khan Sahib Afrāzgul Khān, who had proved an excellent surveying assistant on my third Central Asian expedition, 1913-16, and after very meritorious service in the Survey of India is now Tahsildar, Gilgit.

After these estampages had been handed by me to Dr. P. N. Chakravartī, Deputy Director of Archæology in India and previously Epigraphist to the Archæological Survey, this expert scholar had the kindness to furnish me with his preliminary decipherment of the inscription and his translation of it. The complete publication of his results in a separate paper must be reserved to him. But with his kind permission I may here indicate those points in the inscription which present a distinct antiquarian and quasi-historical interest.

The inscription shows seven lines of large but rather coarsely engraved Brāhmī characters of a type resembling the Śāradā script of early Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir. Palæographic reasons justify the conclusion that the inscription is later than the sixth century A.D., but afford no closer approach to an approximate dating. Nor can definite chronological evidence be deduced from the mention in the inscription of its having been set up on the 13th day of the bright half of Pauṣa in the year 47, the century being omitted. This is usual in the case of the Saptarṣi or Laukika reckoning, which after the analogy of Kashmirian records can safely be assumed to be intended here also.

Distinct interest attaches to the name and designation of the ruler whom the first two lines of the inscription mention as reigning. His name, preceded by the high-sounding titles *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*, is given as *Paṭoladeva Shāhi*. The name *Paṭola* and the added style *Shāhi* bear an unmistakably foreign look, and as if to emphasize this there is added the alias *Śrī-Nava-Surendrāditya-Nandideva*. As regards *Shāhi*, it has been long ago recognized to be directly derived from the Iranian regal

term *shāh* < *kṣāyathiya* "king", which appears as *PAO* on the coins of the earliest Kushan emperors, corresponding to *βασιλεύς* on their coins with Greek legends.¹ Elsewhere I have fully discussed its long-continued application to the various dynasties which succeeded to the Kushans in ruling over the north-western borderlands of India, as attested by Al-Bērūnī's account of the Turk Shāhiyas and Hindu Shāhiyas of Kābul, and by the mention made in Kalhaṇa's Kashmir Chronicle of several "Śāhi" kings belonging to the latter dynasty.²

There is ample evidence in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that the designation *Śāhi* was extensively used also for descendants and relatives of the ruling family right down to the eleventh century A.D. By the concordant notices of Al-Bērūnī and Kalhaṇa, supported by the evidence of coins, we are sufficiently informed of the succession of reigns in the "Hindu Shāhiya" dynasty, while its capital stood at Udabhāṇḍa, the present Und, on the Indus, from about the close of the ninth century A.D. until the last of its rulers succumbed to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, early in the eleventh century.³ In the list of these rulers there seems no room left for a king bearing the name of Paṭoladeva or its alias as recorded in the inscription.

We are thus led to the alternative conclusion of having to place Paṭoladeva either among the kings of the "Turk Shāhiyas" whose main seats were in Kābul and Gandhāra or else among a branch of that dynasty holding a more limited rule in the valleys higher up on the Kūnar and Indus. There is good reason to assume that the Turk Shāhiyas, in spite of their racial descent, had become fully Hinduized long before Lalliya Śāhi, the Brahman Wazīr, usurped the throne of the last of them.

The high titles given in the Hātun inscription to Paṭoladeva point in the former direction, and still more, perhaps, does the fact that his name with the same alias, and with the still bigger designation *Shāhānushāhi*, representing *Shāhān-shāh*, the *PAONANO PAO* of the early Kushan kings' coins and in the form *Shāhānashāhi* applied to them in early Sanskrit inscriptions, is found in a fragmentary manuscript from one of the ruined Stūpas near Gilgit, as Dr.

¹ See my paper "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins", *Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August, 1887, reprinted in *Indian Antiquary*, xvii, pp. 89 ff.

² See Bērūnī, *India*, ii, pp. sqq.; Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* translation, notes on iv, 140-143, v, 152-155; Stein, "Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kābul," in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, 1893.

³ See Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* translation, note on vii, 47-69.

Chakravarti has kindly pointed out to me.¹ But the possibility of Paṭoladeva Shāhi having belonged to a local branch of the Hindu Shāhiyas cannot altogether be excluded. The indication of attachment to Śiva-worship, such as the ending *Nandi-deva* of the alias might suggest, would well agree with the figure of Nandi, Śiva's bull, which the obverse of all coins of that later dynasty invariably exhibits. Similarly another Gilgit manuscript mentions a ruler, obviously of the same family, under the name of Śrīdevashāhi-Surendra-Vikramāditya-Nanda.²

Of still greater interest is the evidence found in the indication of descent given by the words *Bhagadatta-vaṇṣa-sambhūta*, "born of the race of Bhagadatta," prefixed in the Hātun inscription to all the royal titles. The word *Bhagadatta*, meaning literally "heaven-given", though not known to me elsewhere in connection with Shāhis, suggests a late Sanskrit rendering, perhaps derived through an Iranian medium, of the claim of celestial lineage made for the great Kushan Kings in the appellation *devaputra* found on early Kushan coins and in Gupta inscriptions and long ago recognized as the equivalent of the Chinese *t'ien tzu* "heaven-born". Its assumed Iranian equivalent, *Bagaputhra, transformed into the *Baghpūr*, *Fagh-fūr* of medieval Persian and Arabic literature, figures as the designation of the vaguely known great sovereign ruling over distant Cathay i.e. Central Asia and China.³

Some data of definite topographical and antiquarian value are found in the context of the four lines of the inscription following the indication of the reign. They record the foundation of a town by Makarasimha, who is described as the faithful dependent, "the best of the great ministers" of the illustrious Shāhi king, and holding high office as "Sarāṃgha" of Gilgita. The reading and purport of the term *Sarāṃgha* are not quite certain, but there can be no doubt about *Giligita* being Gilgit in the earliest form so far traced: from a philological point of view it is interesting to note that during so long an interval no phonetic change has affected the name. The term *sarāṃgha*, which is not Sanskritic and may be Dardic, perhaps meaning "governor", awaits elucidation.

Equally interesting is the word *kanchudīya*, which precedes the

¹ See M. S. Kaul in *Journal of the Mythic Society*, xxx (1939), pl. 1443, quoted by Dr. Chakravarti.

² I take the reference to Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, i, p. 32, as quoted by Dr. Chakravarti.

³ See e.g. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 209.

list of Makarasimha's honorific titles. The second akṣara, *chu*, is marked by Dr. Chakravarti as palaeographically open to some doubt. Yet knowledge of local geography justifies our recognizing in *kanchudīya* the equivalent of the modern ethnic designation *Kanjūtī* used by Dardic-speaking people for the inhabitants of the high mountain tracts of Hunza and Nagar. The river which drains these valleys is fed by the glaciers of the Hindukush range, where it separates them from the Tāghdum-bāsh Pāmīr of Chinese Turki-stān. Descending south, it joins the Gilgit river just below the chief village of Gilgit.

The Kanjūtīs speak a tongue wholly unconnected with Dardic or any other Indo-European language. Until about half a century ago they were often through their raids very troublesome neighbours for Gilgit. Yet geographical facts and economic reasons must have at all times created close relations between the two populations. The hardening of the *d* in the third syllable of the word, as spelt in the Sanskrit inscription, into *t* in the modern *Kanjūtī* conforms to the phonetic tendency in Dardic languages to change soft consonants between vowels into tenues.¹

Summing up these quasi-historical indications, we are justified in concluding that Gilgit and the adjacent Hindukush tracts were under the suzerainty of the dynasty which held sway at the time over the north-western borderlands of India along the Kābul river and lower down on the Indus. Popular belief, as Al-Bērūnī's statement shows, claimed for them distant descent from the great Kushan rulers. Direct access from the Peshawar valley up the Indus must at all times have been extremely difficult, as I had occasion to convince myself on my exploration of 1942, owing to the character of the river-gorges in the Indus Kohistan. But connection from Gilgit could be maintained with the Kābul river valley, always a main seat of that dynasty, either up the Kūnar river and thence via Chitrāl or else with territory immediately to the east of the Indus via Chilās and the Kāgān valley,² and also by the longer and more difficult route via Astōr and Kashmir.

Turning to the topographical details which the inscription records,

¹ See, e.g., Grierson, *The Pīṣāca Languages*, pp. 96, 110, 116.

² As regards the importance of the latter route to Gilgit up the Kāgān valley and across the Bābutar Pass into Chilās, see *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 17 sq.; also my paper, "A Chinese expedition across the Hindukush and Pamirs," *Geographical Journal*, 1922, pp. 112 sqq., where the short occupation of Gilgit or "Little P'o-lü" by the Chinese after A.D. 747 is also discussed.

we are told that Makarasimha founded his town, called *Abhinava-makarapura*, at a place the name of which cannot be clearly read, within the district of *Hanesara*. Whether by this name, of which the second syllable is not definitely legible, Puniāl or the Ishkūman valley is meant is at present uncertain. But about the means by which the new foundation was made possible, we are given exact information. It fortunately can be checked on the ground. Makarasimha is said for that purpose to have cut a canal (*kulyā*) called *Makara-vākinī* and brought its water to land which before was a waste (*aṭavī*). The name of this land is mutilated, but its position can be determined, thanks to the sketch-map which has been prepared by Khan Sahib Afrāzgul Khān on a visit to the site paid in the spring of 1942 under instructions kindly given at my request by the Political Agent. This sketch-map is here reproduced. From this and the detailed notes which K. S. Afrāzgul has added, it is seen that the alignment of an ancient canal can be traced which took off the water of the Chhachoi stream about a quarter of a mile above where this joins the deep-cut course of the Ishkūman river. It thence descended for a total distance of close on 6 miles over stretches of riverine terraces along the right bank of the Ishkūman river to where they abut steeply above the left bank of the river coming from Yāsīn.

The ground which could be irrigated from this canal varies in its width from less than a quarter of a mile at the head of the present cultivation of Hātun village to close on a mile near where the Ishkūman and Yāsīn rivers join to form the Gilgit river. At present the cultivated land of Hātun starts about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile below the head of the ancient canal and thence extends in a narrow belt for about 2 miles along the high and steeply cut bank of the wide rubble-filled bed of the Ishkūman river. For about half the length of this cultivated strip the line of the old canal seems to be hidden under the alluvial débris brought down from the west by a small torrent-bed. But from where the inscribed rock is found close to the end of the present fields of Hātun, the line of the ancient canal can be clearly followed again for more than 2 miles down to the abrupt termination of the riverine terraces above the confluence of the two rivers.

The total additional area capable of irrigation when the old canal may be assumed to have carried its full volume of water, may roughly be estimated at about a square mile. The gradual silting up

of the old canal near its head, where it appears to be cut along the foot of a steep hill-side, fully accounts for the much reduced supply of water now received from it by the cultivated land of Hātun village.

Within the present cultivated ground Khan Sahib Afrāzgul noted no old remains, apart from the inscribed rock on its south-western end. But two small tongues of ground, projecting into the river-bed and edged by precipitous slopes, bear low ruined enclosures made with large blocks of stone. These are likely to mark small places of refuge, as rightly suggested by the Khan Sahib. The height of the banks, rising here very steeply 40-50 feet above the river-bed, makes them easy of defence in case of danger.

It is different with the remains of decayed walls marking ruined structures and enclosures of varied shape and size to be seen scattered lower down the riverine terraces over that area which is no longer reached by water from the canal. They unmistakably prove permanent occupation of this area in earlier times. So do also the several patches of ground where the Khan Sahib's practised eye could recognize traces of ancient cultivation. From all these indications it may be safely concluded that when the ancient canal, the Makaravāhinī, was first made and carried its full service of water for irrigation, the site over its whole length was cultivated and partly occupied by a considerable village, the Abhinava-makarapura of the inscription. Its situation at the junction of two main valleys is likely to have increased its importance.

In this connection reference may be made to the term *aṭavī* used for the land on which the "town" was founded. In Sanskrit literature the term has the general meaning of "forest". But on geographical grounds it is safe to assert that here, as elsewhere along the Gilgit river, there could never have existed a forest within historical times. The true meaning of *aṭavī* in its local use is shown by its application in Kashmir to stony wastes such as are found often along the banks of mountain rivers where they debouch into more open valleys. In this sense *āra*, a phonetic derivative of *aṭavī*, is regularly used in Kashmir, as shown by the Sanskrit name *Raṁayātavī* found in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī*, i, 265, as the designation of the mountain stream now known as Rembyāra. The context distinctly indicates that the second part of the name denotes the great stony waste (*aṭavī*) the stream has formed where it passes over its wide alluvial fan into the open Kashmir valley.

K. S. Afrāzgul's sketch-plan and notes distinctly show that the terminal and widest portion of the riverine terrace below Hātun is fringed by the rock debris of an ancient moraine. It is thence bound to be stony ground, supporting only scanty scrub.

The connection with Kashmir which the use of the term *aṭavī* in this special sense suggests is brought out in a more definite fashion by what the fifth line of the inscription records about the expense incurred over the construction of the Makaravāhinī canal. Though the reading of several characters in this line is rendered uncertain by damage to the surface of the rock, the mention of *sahasra-dvātriṃśa* 32000 *dinnāra-sahasra*, i.e. of "thirty two thousands of dinnāra thousands", leaves no doubt about a sum expressed in the *dinnāra* currency of Kashmir being meant. In a detailed note of my commentary on Kalhaṇa's Chronicle I have fully elucidated and discussed the interesting facts relating to the old traditional monetary reckoning of Kashmir intended by the Sanskrit term *dinnāra*, from which is derived the modern Kashmiri term *dyār*.¹

Though derived from the Latin word *denarius*, the term *dinnāra* or *dyār* in that old monetary system of Kashmir which survives in popular reckoning down to the present day, had a general significance of "cash" or "coined money". In this system the monetary values intended were indicated on a decimal basis by such terms as *pañcaviṃśatika*, *śata*, *sahasra*, *lakṣa*, etc., in Sanskrit, corresponding to *pūntshu*, *hath*, *sāsūn*, *lakh* in Kashmiri, and meaning "twenty-fiver", "hundreder", "thousander", "hundred-thousander". The unit underlying this reckoning, in theory as it were, was probably the cowrie shell. The valuable account given by Abū-'l-Faḍl of the Kashmir currency in the time of the Emperor Akbar shows the smallness of the values intended by these figures at that time, the *śata* : *hath* or "hundreder" being then reckoned as equivalent to 1 dām or $\frac{1}{40}$ of the rupee of Akbar and the *sahasra* : *sāsūn* or "thousander" as 10 dāms or $\frac{1}{10}$ rupee. By a course of steady debasement the term *hath* or "hundreder" has come now to be used for the copper pice of $\frac{1}{80}$ part of a rupee and the *sāsūn* or "thousander" to represent $\frac{1}{8}$ of the rupee or $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas.

Since the copper coins of the later Hindu kings of Kashmir which represent the "twenty-fiver" (*pañcaviṃśatika*) of that currency

¹ See Stein, *Rājatarāṅginī* translation, note H.—iv, 495, vol. ii, pp. 308-328; reproduced in "Notes on the monetary system of ancient Kaśmīr", *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xix (1899), pp. 125-174.

weigh on the average 91 grains, instead of the 81 grains of Akbar's dām, it is evident that a similar debasement had set in already before. But even allowing for this, the *sahasra* or "thousander" named in the Hātun inscription can have represented only a very modest metallic value. Taken at the equation indicated by Abū'l-Faḥl for the Kashmir *sāsūn* of the sixteenth century, the 32,000 "thousanders" spent by Makarasimha on the construction of his canal would have corresponded to a sum of 800 of Akbar's rupees.

A fair estimate of the intrinsic purchasing value of that sum could, however, be formed only if we knew something of the economic conditions of the Gilgit area at the time. Of this we have no information. But on the assumption that the *dinnāra* reckoning in Gilgit was essentially of the same character as in Kashmir, by far the most important of neighbouring territories, it is possible to form some approximate idea as to what the sum named in the inscription might have represented locally if converted into foodstuffs. From the earliest mention made in Kalhana's Chronicle of the price of rice, the staple produce of Kashmir, we learn that in the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) the price of a *khāri* of rice was 200 *dinnāras* on the average in good years and at times of famine had risen to 1,050 *dinnāras*.¹ As the *khāri*, the *kharwār* of the present day and still the standard measure of weight in Kashmir, corresponds to 177 pounds, these prices show us that a *sahasra* or "thousander" had in Kashmir a considerable value at a time which may not have been very distant from that of the Hātun inscription. Later in the time of Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) we are told of 500 *dinnāras* as the price of a *khāri* of rice at famine-rates. Even as late as Akbar's time the price at which a *kharwār* of rice was sold from the state stores at Srinagar was fixed as low as 1,332 *dinnāras*.

From all this it is seen that the sum which the inscription records as the outlay on the construction of the canal, small as it may appear when calculated in silver rupees of Akbar's time and smaller still in the rupees of the present day, was yet one that it may have taken the founder of Makarapura a good number of years to recover from the revenue on the actual produce of the land newly brought under cultivation. But more interesting it is to note that in the use of this *dinnāra* currency reckoning in Gilgit we have evidence of the far-reaching influence which ancient Kashmir also on the economic

¹ For references to the prices of the *khāri* of rice quoted here, see *Rājataranginī* translation, ii, p. 325, § 30.

side of its civilization appears to have exercised in a distant Hindu-kush valley.

II.—A HELLENISTIC BRONZE VESSEL FROM ISHKUMAN

In August, 1942, when on my way to Chilās up the Indus from a tour which had taken me along the border of the Kohistān east of the Indus, I received from Major E. H. Cobb, O.B.E., Political Agent, Gilgit, an interesting antiquity for examination. It was the bronze rhyton reproduced in Pl. III, *a*. According to a note left by Major C. L. Crichton, the preceding Political Agent, it had come to light near Imit in the Ishkūman valley in August, 1940, through "the collapse of a cliff near the river, evidently the scene of an old habitation". The vessel appears to have been found broken into two pieces.

The lower and more interesting portion shows a composite figure, with the head, breast, and arms of an elderly man and the body and legs of a horse. It forms a stand as an integral part of the vessel. There can be no doubt about the figure being intended for a Centaur of Greek mythology. The heavy features of the bearded head are in conformity with the iconographic convention prevailing in Greek sculptural representation of these demigods. With this agrees also the small figure representing an ibex which is held between the hands of the centaur's outstretched arms as a trophy of the chase, marking the characteristic pursuit attributed to such beings. The little figure of the ibex, modelled to nature, is held in position by a pin passing horizontally through the hands of the centaur and the centre of the body of the ibex. The ibex thus swinging freely on the pin, with equal weight fore and aft, would retain its horizontal position when the vessel was tilted forward for a draught to be taken through the opening represented by the centaur's penis between the forelegs. Most of the figure is cast solid, in order to provide a firm base for the vessel, a tube allowing its contents to pass to the opening below the centaur's belly.

Upon the back of the horse and immediately to the rear of the human body rises a short cup-shaped extension, cast as part of the centaur; and to the upper rim of this was socketed and secured by rivets the lower end of the inverted conical portion of the vessel in which the bulk of the liquid would be held. This part was originally about 8 inches high.

Most of the lower portion is lost through breakage, but the elegant curve of the cone allows its full height to be restored with fair accuracy. The inverted cone widens like a trumpet to $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the mouth. This has a slightly projecting rim, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, decorated with an incised zigzag design. The total height of the vessel, as measured from the centaur's feet to the top, is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Though the workmanship is rough and the proportions of head and limbs are faulty, the whole composition reflects unmistakably Hellenistic inspiration. The number of objects executed in metal which have come to light at sites in the north-western extremity of India where Hellenistic art influence could directly assert itself has, apart from coins, been too small so far to afford any definite guidance as to the exact period to which this find from a distant Hindukush valley may be ascribed. But on stylistic grounds the time of Kushan domination, or roughly the first three centuries of our era, would suggest itself.

Even more uncertain is the question as to the particular locality where the tankard may have been produced. But considering the weight of the object, disproportionate to its intrinsic metal value, it seems difficult to assume that it could have found its way into a far-off Hindukush valley by trade over a very great distance from the West or the Hellenized Near East. It appears more likely that it was made in some part of the region lower down on the Indus, where, as the Græco-Buddhist sculptures of Gandhāra show, models of Hellenistic craftsmanship were readily accessible at that period. Nor can local production be altogether excluded. Interesting in any case it is to find here a figure created by Greek mythological fancy adapted for an object of household use and not merely introduced to take its place in the cult of a pre-eminently syncretistic age, as might perhaps be assumed in the case of other finds from the Indian North-West Frontier, such as the small statue of Athene once discovered in a mound near Quetta (and since lost) or the little figure of the child god Harpocrates excavated at Taxila.¹

Another object said to have been found at the same spot and on the same occasion as the centaur-rhyton is a small bowl heavily cast of bronze, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its round mouth and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high (Pl. III, *a*). It is provided on one side near its rim with a ring by which the bowl could be hung, and on the opposite side with a solid round lug. Between the two projects the coarsely modelled

¹ See Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, p. 92.

head of an animal, apparently a horse. The whole object is of rough workmanship, distinctly inferior to that of the tankard. In the description given above of the rhyton I have been very glad to avail myself of some useful suggestions kindly communicated to me by my friend Mr. F. H. Andrews in a letter dated February 28th, 1943, after perusing my text and seeing a photograph of the rhyton and bowl.

In the same letter Mr. Andrews has added the following helpful remarks: "The head of the centaur recalls some of the Khotan terracottas,¹ as does also the grotesque animal head and neck projecting from the side of the queer little bowl.² The rhyton itself occurs in appliqué bas-reliefs on Khotan pottery,³ and, I believe, in Gandhāra sculptures. The quality of the modelling suggests local work.

"The bowl is, I think, unique in having a loop handle and a solid lug. The horse head (solid) surely simulates a spout."

III.—BUDDHIST ROCK INSCRIPTIONS IN CHILĀS

It was on my move up the left bank of the Indus at the end of August, 1942, after the tour above mentioned had taken me through the Thōr tract, and during my subsequent short stay at Chilās, that I had the opportunity of examining a considerable number of Buddhist rock-inscriptions and pictures, of which a preliminary account may be given in this note. In 1913, in the course of a few necessarily hurried marches, I had passed through Chilās territory when on my way to explore Darēl and Tangīr. But the first information about inscriptions and pictures to be found there along the Indus at and below Chilās village was received by me in the autumn of 1941, from Mr. G. H. Emerson, I.C.S., when I was about to start from Peshawar for my expedition into the Indus Kohistān. Somewhat more detailed indications as to the localities where these remains are to be found were given to me by Captain C. D. Murphy, Assistant Political Agent, Chilās, in July, 1942, when I had the good fortune to meet him at Nārān in the Kāgān valley. Though their existence was known to political and other officers of the Gilgit Agency probably since Chilās was first brought under

¹ See *Serindia*, iv, pl. iii, Yo. 009, c. 3.

² See Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, ii, pl. xlv, *Serindia*, iv, pl. i, and *Innermost Asia*, iii, pl. iii,

³ See *Serindia*, iv, pl. i, Yo. 0042, b., and *Innermost Asia*, iii, pl. i, Yo. 08, and i, pp. 98 and 101.

British control by a military operation in 1893, no notice of them appears ever to have been published. For those very helpful indications and for much friendly assistance received otherwise during my passage through Thōr and Chilās in August, 1942, I feel greatly indebted to the kindness of Captain Murphy.

Before I record the observations I was able to gather about the disposition of those inscriptions and their probable bearing, mention may be made of a feature in the technique of them all which directly hampers their full interpretation for the present. They are not properly speaking engraved, but like a sort of sgraffiti produced by "bruising" on the smooth but exceedingly hard surface of the detached rocks and huge boulders on which they are found throughout. This method applied to the very dark patina-like rock-surface allows the boldly drawn Brāhmī characters to stand out by the lighter colour of the under-surface when viewed in the right light, but it does not permit anywhere of useful estampages being taken. Photographic reproduction is equally impeded in the case of most of the inscriptions by the difficulty of gaining safe access for the camera at a suitable distance and angle; for they are generally found on the slanting or almost flat sides of huge boulders wedged between, or piled up against steep rocks which afford only a precarious footing.

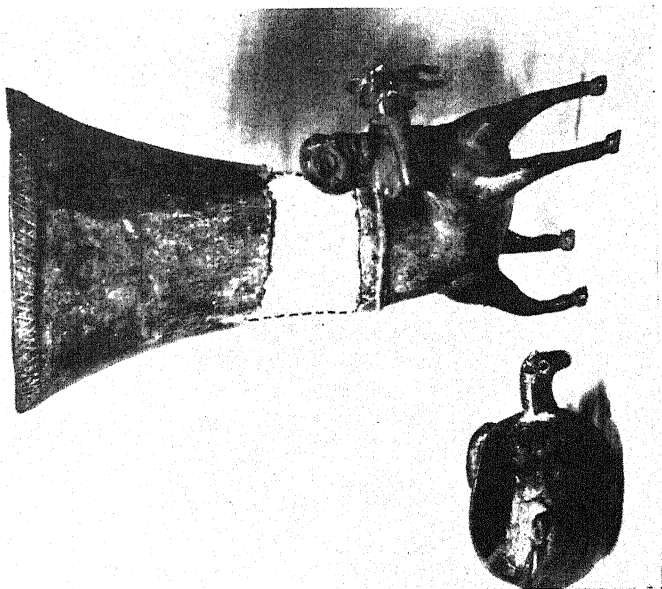
Below the village of Chilās, where the main collection of inscriptions is found, all these boulders and rocks occupy positions close enough to the present bed of the Indus to make it appear certain that they were brought down and washed, or otherwise affected, by the mighty force of the floods in the great river at a time when its bed lay probably higher than it now does between the utterly bare cliffs lining its course. Stretches of drift-sand are deposited between these rocks by the floods of the Indus or heaped up by the strong winds blowing periodically along it. They add to the forbiddingly desolate look of the ground along the banks of the Indus where it passes below Chilās towards Darēl and the valleys of the Indus Kohistān. The trying nature of work on such ground is increased by the fierce heat prevailing during the summer months in this portion of the deep-cut Indus valley and by the blasts of wind-driven sand which often sweep along it. This will account for the difficulty I encountered in securing a first provisional record of the marks left here by ancient Buddhist zeal.

The photographs of the inscriptions taken by me wherever their

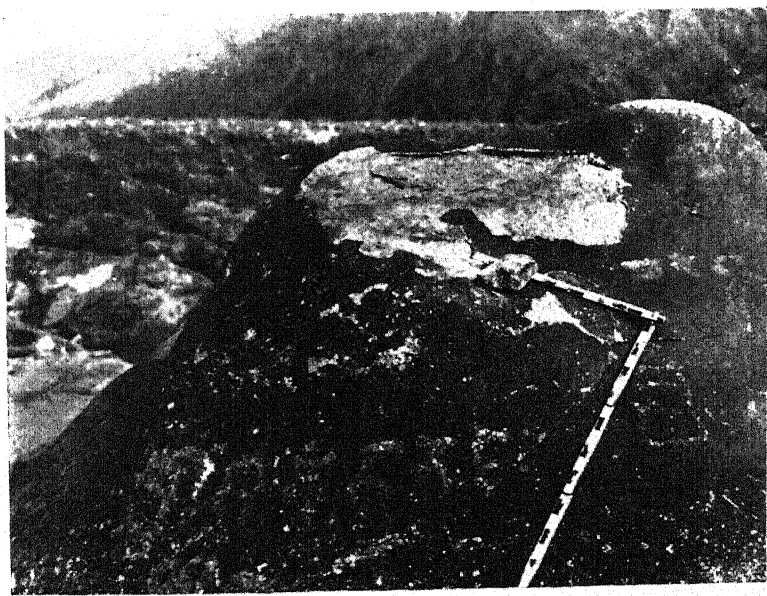
position allowed it, and copies made of them by hand within my limited stay at Chilās have been placed at the disposal of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, a very competent epigraphist, but will not suffice for any safe attempt at decipherment. Such is not likely to become possible until these inscriptions are studied on the spot by a fully qualified Indian epigraphist, or else adequate reproductions are secured through an expert photographer provided with the requisite aids such as colour-sensitive plates (or films) and special scaffolding, wherever the position of the inscriptions makes its employment indispensable. Here I must be content to record my observations on the place and general character of the inscriptions and the rock-pictures near them, and to indicate what my limited acquaintance with Indian palæography allowed me to note about their script and language. To this I shall add some remarks about the special interest which these relics of Buddhist piety may claim on account of a local tradition in neighbouring Darēl relating to the early propagation of the Doctrine through this region. Imperfect as this notice must needs be, yet its communication in this place may be justified in view of the time which might pass before an arrangement for a close study of the inscriptions can be made in distant Chilās, a tract accessible only across high passes during a limited season each year.

I now proceed briefly to describe the rock inscriptions and pictures in the topographical order in which they were seen by me. The first of them were met on my way down the main valley of Thōr along the bridle-path leading to the left bank of the Indus. From half a mile below the hamlet of Maruski down to Thōre-gāh, 9 miles further on by the Indus, there were met at half a dozen places detached rocks bearing rough representations of small stūpas. Near a few of them was to be seen the crudely drawn figure of a man or four-footed animal which might have been scratched in later. In two cases there were found short much-effaced lines of Brāhmī characters. Above the goldwashers' huts of Thōre-gāh by the Indus a boulder bears a legible line of six large Brāhmī characters, evidently a name (Pl. III, b).

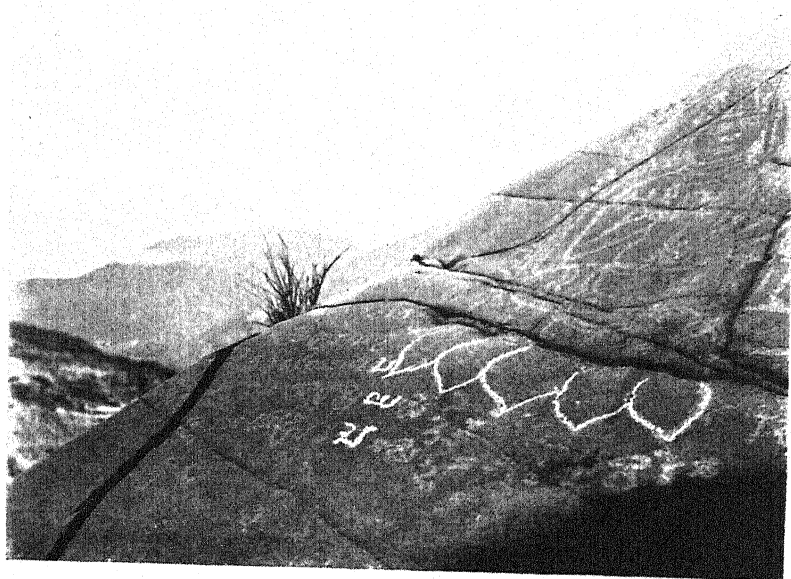
On the way to Chilās fort and village were found two inscriptions within a few yards of each other at the mouth of the Gīchi valley. It is the only spot where water and some vegetation were met on the trying march of 18 miles along the rocky wilderness above the left bank of the Indus. One shows two lines of Brāhmī, the other four



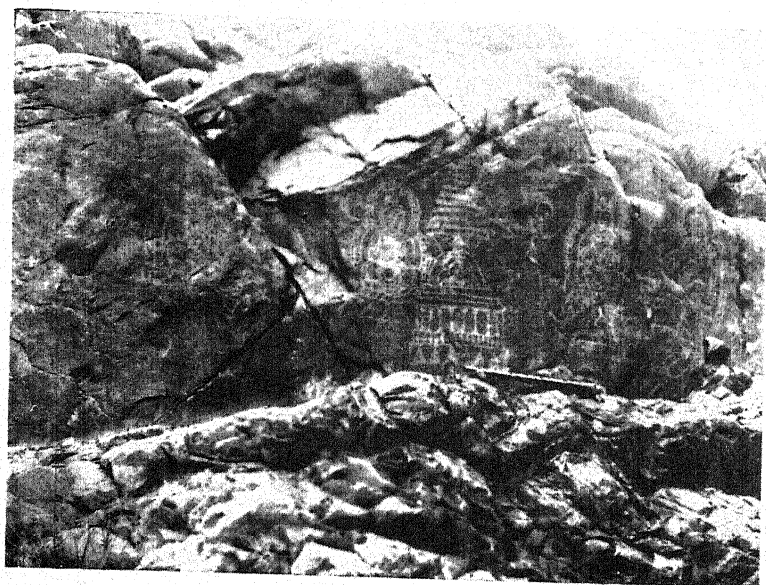
a



b



a



b

more with words clearly read as Sanskrit. The present bridle-path, a work of British engineering, is cut, or built up, in places along otherwise impracticable cliffs and keeps high above the river. The old track, very difficult even on foot, appears to have either scaled high spurs above or elsewhere to have precipitously descended to the river. Hence there remains the possibility of more inscribed rocks being found by tracing the old track, now completely abandoned.

The main collection of rock-inscriptions and pictures is reached by descending from the Assistant Political Agent's bungalow and office at Chilās along the narrow valley in which the stream of Buto-gāh, feeding the chief canals of Chilās cultivation, makes its way steeply to the Indus. After a descent of some 500 feet to the mouth of the valley one strikes the track leading from Chilās village and fort to the ferry-place across the Indus. Following it, one reaches near the ferry the cluster of detached rocks bearing inscriptions and pictures at a total distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Some 120 yards from the ferrymen's hut and at an elevation of about 80 feet above it rises a large rock, which marks the approximate centre of the cluster. The slanting foot of its northern face (Group 1) bears the representation of a large *stūpa* and of three Bodhisattvas on lotus-seats by its side. The *stūpa* is raised on a three-fold base and surmounted by *chhattras*, from the topmost of which descend fluttering banners. Below the Bodhisattva on the left of the *stūpa* are found five lines of Brāhmī characters (Pl. IV, *a*). The three-pronged form of the akṣara *ya* appears repeatedly among them, and allows this inscription, like all the others in which this form of the character is seen, to be dated as earlier than the 7th century A.D. By the side of the Bodhisattva on the right are inscribed two separate lines, one short, the other of seventeen characters. In a vertical portion of the northern face of this high rock are seen two separate inscriptions, more carefully drawn than the rest, one of two lines, the other below of a single line.

On a low projection to the south-east of the same rock (Group 2, Pl. IV, *b*) is seen a *stūpa* with three bases, one of them showing pilasters; nine *chhattras* surmount the hemispherical dome. It is flanked on each side by a large seated Bodhisattva: at his feet to the right is shown a small adoring male figure kneeling and holding a censer. To the right again on a receding portion of the rock is depicted a tall standing Buddha within a vesica. To the left of the

Bodhisattva on the left is an inscription of four lines.¹ The top of a high rock found *circa* 50 yards to the S.W. of Group 2 shows on an almost flat surface three small detached stūpas; two of them have each three short lines inscribed by their side. There still remain to be mentioned a small boulder below Group 1 showing a large *calra* symbol and to the left of it three short lines.

Going about 210 yards to the N.W. of Group 1 across an open stretch of drift sand, there is found a line of closely packed large boulders near to the river-bed. One of them on its gently slanting face shows the most interesting of the pictures (Group 4). To the right of a large stūpa 7 feet long, which has seven chhatras, and is flanked by small worshipping figures, is depicted a scene which represents the well-known legend of Buddha in a former birth sacrificing his body to a famished tigress in order to save her starving cubs. The picture, clearly if rather coarsely drawn, shows the prostrate body of a man with the tigress bent over his chest, evidently in the act of feeding on it. Above the legs of the body are seen two small animals, obviously meant for the tiger-cubs. Above the "body-sacrifice" of the legend are shown in a row three half-length human figures leaning over stepped horizontal lines, which apparently are meant to indicate a wall. The faces and pose of the heads express bewilderment and lament on the part of those witnessing the scene, perhaps intended for divinities. On the same level as these figures and to the left of them is depicted a large tree, from the trunk of which emerges half of a human figure leaning towards the scene below. To the right and above the lamenting persons are inscribed three short lines of Brāhmī, and two more much effaced lines are seen below the Bodhisattva's body. Next to this is shown a crouching beast, obviously the tigress waiting for her prey; below it there is an illegible line of characters.

The concordant accounts of Sung Yün, Hsüan-tsang, and other Chinese pilgrims show that the legend of the "body-offering" was placed in Gandhāra.² In the course of my expedition to Mount

¹ [The photograph shows (a) on the right of the stūpa, firstly a seated Bodhisattva, with a kneeling figure holding a censer in front of him, (b) to the right of this Bodhisattva, an inscription, (c) still further to the right of this, a standing Bodhisattva, (d) to the left of the stūpa, a seated Bodhisattva, and still further to the left a third seated Bodhisattva, and again to the left of the latter another inscription.—F. H. A., L. D. B.]

² See for Sung Yün, Chavannes, *Voyage de Song Yün, BEFEO.*, 1903, pp. 33 sqq.; for Hsüan-tsang, Julien, *Mémoires de Hiouen Tchang*, i, pp. 164 sqq.; also Watters, *On Yuan Chuang's Travels*, i, pp. 253 sqq.



a



b

Mahābān in 1904 I was able correctly to locate it on Mount Banj in Gadūn tribal territory.¹ From Hsüan-tsang's rendering of the Jātaka story and his description of the site we see that tradition, as heard by him at that place of pilgrimage, assumed the sacrifice to have taken place in a jungle. To this points the mention made in Hsüan-tsang's narrative of the Bodhisattva having pierced his body with a piece of dry bamboo and nourished the tigress with his blood, and also the reference made to visitors to the spot "suffering from the wild thorns of the place".² The representation of a large tree in the Chilās rock-picture of the story is curious. May it have some connection with this popular belief about a jungle having been its scene? Further on I shall refer to the question as to the special significance which this rock-picture might have in relation to the presence of so many marks of Buddhist piety just here on the bank of the Indus.

About 70 yards off to the N.W. of Group 4 with the picture just described, a rugged rock of some height (Group 5) shows the largest of the inscriptions in a recess of its southern face; this evidently has been hollowed by water-action (Pl. V, *a*). Above it is seen a somewhat more elaborately drawn picture of a stūpa. The inscription comprises five lines, and at the bottom, where the stone has suffered decay, there are traces of a sixth. The Brāhmī writing varies in the size of the characters, which are largest in the two lines above; it is throughout distinctly cursive. Forms of the akṣaras *ka* and *y* which are found in it leave no doubt about this inscription being later than the rest. The less hard surface of the rock-face has allowed the characters to be scratched in to a slight depth, and an attempt was made by me to secure an estampage; but owing to the want of suitable paper and the combined effect of fierce heat and violent wind this proved too defective for full decipherment. On a vertical portion of the rock-face, adjoining the hollowed one at an angle on the right, two short inscriptions are found, each of a single line. Finally mention may be made of a roughly drawn stūpa (Pl. V, *b*) with a few characters inscribed below its base, which is found on the slanting face of a boulder a short distance further to the N.W.

¹ See Stein, *Report on Archaeological Survey Work in the N.W. Frontier Province*, Peshawar, 1905, pp. 38 sqq.

² Thus in Watters' rendering of Hsüan-tsang's text, loc. cit. Julien's translation also refers to the herbs and shrubs of the spot as recalling the sacred event.

Before information has been received from Dr. N. P. Chakravarti as to the result of the examination which he very kindly has offered to make of the imperfect epigraphic materials submitted, it seems very hazardous to express a definite opinion as to the general character of all these inscriptions. It may, however, be stated in view of the palæographic features of the writing in most of them that their date is earlier than the seventh century A.D. There is also a probability that many of the short inscriptions attached to representations of stūpas are votive, to record the names of the persons who in lieu of erecting stūpas had to content themselves with offering such rock-pictures as modest proofs of their devotion.

This view finds strong support in the short Brāhmī inscriptions which I found engraved by the side of the two rock-pictures of stūpas at Pakhtōridini and Charrun in Chitrāl and Mastūj respectively.¹ They both give the name of Rāja Jivavarman as that of the donor, and may be approximately ascribed to the fifth century A.D. The design of these stūpas looks somewhat older than those seen in the Chilās rock-pictures. That the purport of the inscriptions accompanying the latter was similar is made still more probable by the genitive ending *śya* found as the last syllable in a number of them.

There still remains the question how to account for the presence of so many of these pious quasi-substitute donations at the particular spot on the bank of the Indus below Chilās. Their location at a much frequented ferrying-place, which many people proceeding from Chilās to the Trans-Indus valleys of Hōdar and Kinērgāh and beyond them to Darēl and Gilgit or vice versa must ordinarily pass, might perhaps be considered as an explanation of such an accumulation of votive gifts. The possibility of risks run at these crossings, when the Indus in the early spring and summer carries down its mighty floods, might also have served to stimulate such acts of devotion or gratitude.

But the large rock-picture of Buddha's "body-offering" above described suggests what may have served to invest the spot with a sacred character of its own and hence as a special reason to select it for the presentation of such proofs of attachment to Buddha's faith. It is too well known to need detailed demonstration here

¹ See Stein, *Serindia*, i, pp. 37 sqq. ; Fig. 5, 6.

how often religious zeal, as well as practical convenience for the purpose of pilgrimage, has caused legends both Buddhist and Hindu and sacred objects connected with their cults to be localized at different places in India, and even beyond it.¹

This practice is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that all notable events of Buddha's life-story are found, as the narrative of Chinese pilgrims and an abundance of ruined shrines prove, to have been located in various places of ancient Gandhāra and Udyāna and adjacent parts.² It is hence possible to assume that local belief in Chilās at a time when Buddhism flourished all along the upper Indus had fixed upon this spot as the scene of the "body-offering". Desolate as the spot was then, just as it now is, it was yet by its vicinity to cultivated ground suited for the convenience both of pilgrims and of those who would minister to their needs, spiritual and other.³

The evidence just discussed of Buddhist zeal once prevailing in Chilās has a certain bearing on an early tradition of wider interest, connected with the neighbouring tract of Darēl. I have had occasion before to draw attention to the interesting notice which the concordant accounts of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang furnish of a colossal image of Maitreya Bodhisattva made of wood and venerated as of sacred origin in the country of *T'o-li* or *Ta-li-lo*, the present Darēl. It was an object of great worship; "the kings of the surrounding countries vie with one another presenting offerings to it." An old local tradition, as heard by the Chinese pilgrims, asserted that the spread of Buddhism eastwards, i.e. into Central Asia and China, dated from the existence of this miraculous image.⁴ On my visit to Darēl in 1913 I was able to prove that the position of this famous Buddhist sanctuary is now marked by a much frequented Muhammadan ziyārat at Poguch in the lower

¹ For a striking instance of such diverse location in the case of Buddha's alms-bowl, worshipped at different places as widely apart as Kashgar, Peshawar, and Adam's Peak in Ceylon, see e.g. my note in *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 47 sq.

² See e.g. Foucher, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne de Gandhāra*, BEFEO., tome 1 (1901), pp. 322 ff.

³ I may note here that the track leading from the mouth of the Buto-gāh valley to the ferry passes cultivation-terraces abandoned in recent times within less than half a mile of the ferry. Even nearer there is seen the ruin of an oblong walled enclosure which seems to have served at no very distant period as a defensible serai. Close to it issues a small spring at the foot of a low spur descending from the hill range to the south.

⁴ See Legge, *Fa-hien*, pp. 24 sqq.; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, p. 239.

portion of the main Darēl valley, a case illustrating the well-known continuity of local worship.¹

Now it must be noted that the easiest route giving access to Darēl from the north-west of India proper leads up the Kāgān valley and across its head by the Bābusar pass into Chilās. It is this route which since the beginning of the present century has come increasingly into use as a main line of communication from Hazāra and the adjacent parts of the Punjab towards Gilgit and other Hindukush valleys. Its importance in earlier times also in connection with essential supplies such as salt needed in the latter tracts, is proved by the reference made to it in a notice of the Chinese Annals. I had occasion to discuss this in connection with the Chinese occupation of Gilgit after Kao Hsien-chih's expedition in A.D. 747.²

The same advantages of communication are bound to have directed also Buddhist propaganda and pilgrim traffic to follow this route through Chilās to Darēl and other Hindukush tracts at a much earlier period. If account is taken of the part which Chilās, in view of the plain geographical facts just indicated, may be assumed to have played in the economic and other relations between the Hindukush region and the old seats of Buddhist cult in the north-west of India, we can more readily understand why the place in Chilās where the easiest route of approach to Darēl, leading past Hōdar, and also the one leading most directly to the central portion of Gilgit, crossed the Indus, has come to bear so many marks of Buddhist devotion.

¹ For the location of the miraculous image of Maitreya at Poguch, see *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 30, 31; regarding instances of continuity of local worship, see my note on "Buddhist local worship in Muhammadan Central Asia", *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 839 sqq.

² See *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 3 sq. A look at a small-scale map might suggest that the nearest route to Darēl from the open fertile portions of the north-western extremity of India, including Gandhāra and adjacent ground eastwards, which formed a chief seat of Buddhist cult, would have led up the Indus. But the exceptional physical difficulties presented by the forbidding gorges through which the Indus has cut its course below Darēl for a total distance of close on a hundred miles, could at no time have allowed this route to serve for regular intercourse, trade, or pilgrim traffic. The survey of these gorges carried out in the course of my explorations of 1941-2 in the Indus Kohistān has fully confirmed the graphic description which Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang have given of the exceptional difficulties of this route described in early Chinese records as the "route of the hanging chains"; see e.g. *Travels of Fa-hsien* (Legge), pp. 26 sq.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, i, p. 239; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 20 sq.; Stein, "From Swat to the Indus Gorges," *Geographical Journal*, 1942, August, pp. 49-56.

Archæological Discoveries in Trialeti—Caucasus

By Commander C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, M.A., D.Litt.

(PLATES VI-IX)

THE Academy of Sciences of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic published in 1941 through the Institute of History, Tiflis, a report in Russian (231 pp. + 132 illustrations and 126 plates, of which 19 are coloured) by Mr. B. A. Kuftin on some remarkable archæological discoveries in Trialeti. The report contains a 16 page summary of its contents in English and an up-to-date bibliography of more than 500 references. The appearance in the middle of the war of a volume devoted to Russian research is in itself an event. It is evidence of the vitality of Russian archæology and of the confidence of the author and editor in ultimate victory at the very moment when the invader was carrying fire and sword to the foot of the Caucasus.

At the same time this volume is the most important contribution to the archæology of the Caucasus since the publication of the great works of the Russian Archæological Commission of St. Petersburg, of V. Miller, of the Countess of Uvarova, and of E. Chantre.

The installation of hydro-electric works and of a dam in the upper valley of the Khram, which rejoins the Koura 50 km. S.E. of Tiflis, threatened to flood a vast area. So a Russian archæological expedition under Mr. B. A. Kuftin, patronized by the Institute of History of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, was charged with the exploration of archæological sites lying within the area to be submerged by the artificial lake. It is the preliminary report of the results obtained during five years of research that Mr. Kuftin has published.

Including burial grounds as well as a few settlements, the sites explored go back from Sassanid, Roman, and Hellenistic times to the Early Bronze age and even to the Chalcolithic period. The stratigraphical observations made during this research and the study of the new finds will provide a more solid foundation for the revision long overdue of the uncertain chronology of Caucasia's prehistoric and proto-historic periods. But it is the kourganes of the Bronze Age found in the upper valleys of the old Georgian province of Trialeti that have furnished the most surprising and significant discoveries.

More than a score of these burial mounds were examined, most of them of a very large size, reaching 5 m. in height. They contain burial chambers on the original ground level, subterranean chambers or burial pits sometimes to be reached by a dromos in the shape of an inclined ramp. Some of the pits are 14 m. long and 8 m. wide and descend 8 m. below the level of the soil.

Each of these remarkable tombs shelters one body only, certainly that of a chief at whose side there were sometimes placed a four-wheeled car and other rich funeral furniture. The extreme rarity and in most of the kourganes the entire absence of weapons shows that these tombs are those of chiefs of a peaceable population. It was a population devoted to agriculture and to the rearing of cattle, sheep, goats and pigs, whose bones are found among the offerings. In addition, it hunted the wild-goat, the ibex, the chamois, the roe-deer, the fallow-deer and the wild boar, whose shapes adorn some of the funerary vessels.

Among the many animals sacrificed to the dead the horse does not appear. The small golden figure of a quadruped from kourgane V which the author takes to represent a pony or a wild goat, is certainly not a horse, as is proved by two hollows on the top of the head, that were meant to receive a pair of horns. As the horse was used in the Caucasus at the time of the Trialeti kourganes, one must suppose there were religious or economic or sentimental reasons forbidding its sacrifice at funerals. One may recall here that in the tombs of warriors of the La Tène period in France and Southern Germany, where chariots were buried complete with harness, it is extremely seldom that horses have been sacrificed.

Iron is completely missing from the objects found in the kourganes of Trialeti. There are some obsidian and flint arrow-heads. All metal objects are of bronze or of precious metal.

Very remarkable is a silver bucket, decorated with gold, entirely covered with embossed ornamentations figuring a great variety of wild animals in a stylized forest (Pl. VI) ; a silver goblet decorated with a religious scene (Pls. VIII and IX) ; and many goblets or cups of gold, one adorned with filigree spirals and granulation and studded with turquoises and cornelians set *en capuchon*.

Not less surprising is the pottery with geometrical decoration of a very refined pattern, found in the kourganes at the same time as vessels in grey or blackish burnished paste. The painted vases are of two classes. One has a shiny whitish glaze and is covered

with a design in a rich dark-brown glossy paint (Pl. VII, *a-c*); the other is painted red all over, this being the ground for a black pattern of triangular shapes arranged like petals round the neck and shoulders of the vases (Pl. VIII).

Clearly the various types of pottery in the kourganes of Trialeti came from different workshops, some contemporaneous, some differing slightly in period. On the other hand, the similarity of metallic types shows that the richest kourganes (Nos. V, VI, VII, XV, and XVII) belong all to the same period.

The problem of the date of these finds is complicated by the fact that neither for the remarkable metal objects nor for the fine painted ceramics can analogous specimens be cited either from the Caucasus or from countries immediately adjacent. On the other hand, as Mr. Kuftin has remarked (p. 164), resemblances to Sumerian art and to the art of Uruk of 3000 B.C., in spite of certain similarities in detail, lead to no conclusion. Profound differences in technique and style exclude all possibility of relationship. The same is true of the comparison one is tempted at first sight to make between the red pottery painted in black from the kourganes and Elamite pottery of the so-called second style.

Light is thrown on the chronological problem as soon as one assumes for the kourganes of Trialeti a date within the limits of the Late Bronze Age. In this context the discovery in kourgane XV of a bronze socketted spearhead with a silver ferrule (Pl. VI) is of particular interest as Mr. Kuftin (p. 165) has noted. A spear of this type with more prominent gadroons has been found at Ras Shamra, where it is attributed with certainty to the period 1550–1400 B.C.; others, identical in detail with the Trialeti spear, have been recovered from an intact grave at Kephalaria near Mycenæ dated by pottery of the type of the Late (III) Helladic period as between 1450 and 1350 B.C. (C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 510).

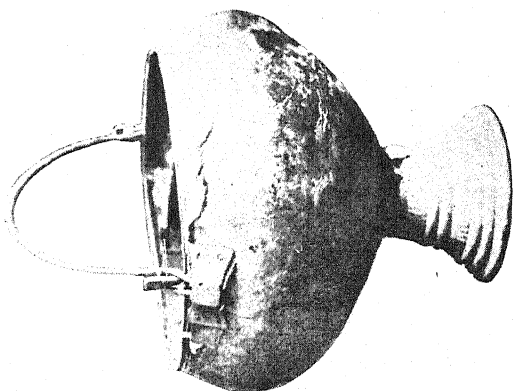
With regard to the decoration of the painted Trialeti pottery the frequent employment of the spiral *motif*, alone or conjoined (Pl. VII, *b*), recalls the fondness for this pattern in the Mycenaean age. A detail establishing a connection between the finds in the kourganes and those from the later burial-grounds of the Bronze and Iron ages of Transcaucasia is the decoration on the beautiful golden goblet from kourgane VII (pl. xciii). The same spirals down-turned and of similar workmanship are found on the sheath of one of the

daggers from Mouci-Yéri in Lelvar, of the beginning of the Iron Age (ca. 1200). See de Morgan, *Mission au Caucase*.

The astonishing *situla* (Pl. VI) of beaten bronze, set on a hollow pedestal from kourgane XV recalls so vividly the bronze cauldrons of the Early Iron Age from Southern and Northern Italy that one hesitates to assign it to a period so far back as the Late Bronze Age, as the archæological data compel one to do. Finally the tanged daggers of silver or of bronze with finely traced grooves, from kourganés XVII and XIX (pls. cv, cix) are quite clearly the immediate prototypes of similar daggers, technically inferior, from burial-grounds belonging to the end of the Late Bronze Age (1300–1100 B.C.), that were brought to light by the same Russian mission, at Beshtasheni, also in Central Georgia (loc. cit., fig. 77). The same type of dagger has been found also in funerary urns at Esery in Abchasie which I attribute to 1550–1400 B.C. (*Elements de Chronologie de Ras Shamra* in preparation). The presence among the Esery finds of very fine bronze socketted spears does not confirm the view expressed in the Trialeti report (p. 165) that spears of this type do not appear in the northern Caucasus before the very end of the Late Bronze Age.

Comparative study therefore would assign to the objects found in the rich kourganés of Trialeti a date not earlier than the second millennium B.C.; let us say, in round numbers, a date between 1500 and 1400. They belong to the Late Bronze Age. This is considerably later than the date contemplated by Mr. Kuftin (p. 165) who considers the period of the fourth grave at Mycenæ and that of Troy VI as the *terminus post quem* for the more recent of these kourganés, of which none would postdate the seventeenth century B.C. So, according to Mr. Kuftin, they would belong to the Middle Bronze Age.

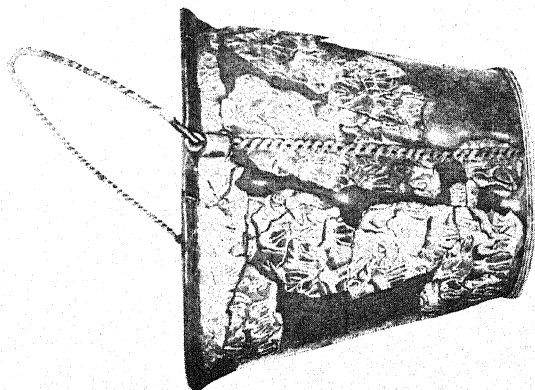
In the light of the preceding comparisons one has also to revise the view of the Trialeti report that there has been no relation between the civilization reflected in the contents of these kourganés and the civilization of the burial-grounds of the end of the Bronze Age and the commencement of the Iron Age, which have been discovered elsewhere in Trialeti and in Transcaucasia generally. Also to explain differences it is not necessary to premise a long hiatus between these cultures. On the contrary the resemblances noticed here, resemblances easily multiplied, allow one to establish the relationship of the objects found in the kourganés to the finds



c



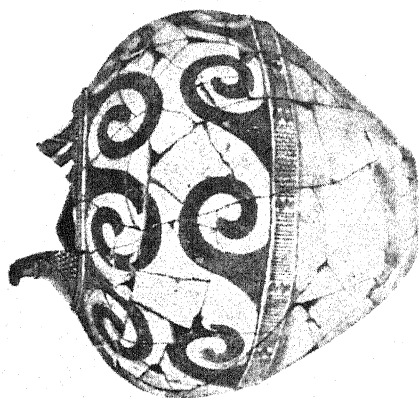
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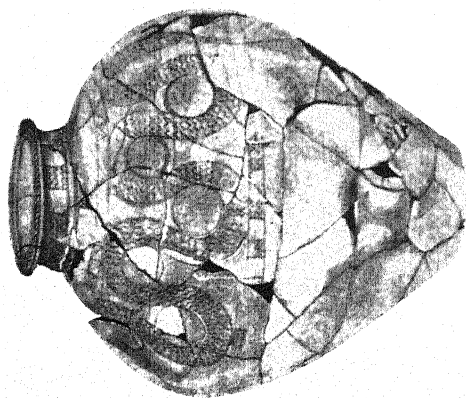
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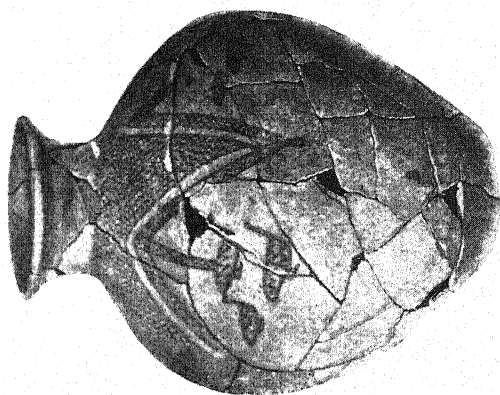
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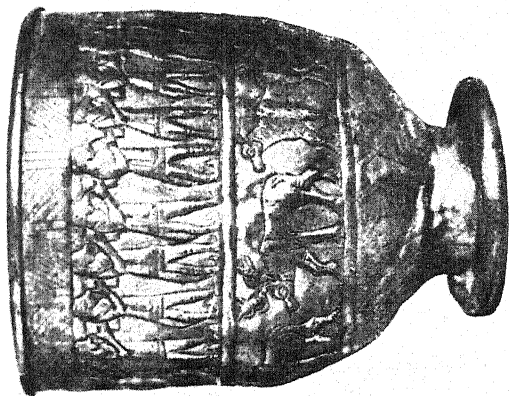
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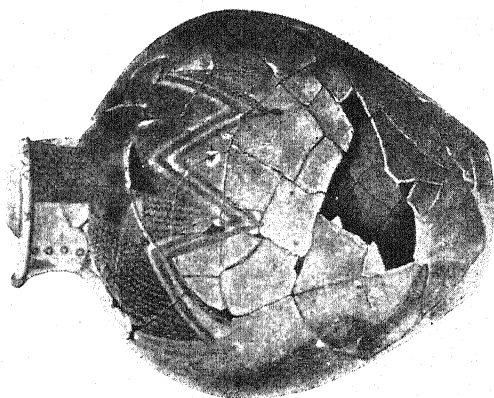
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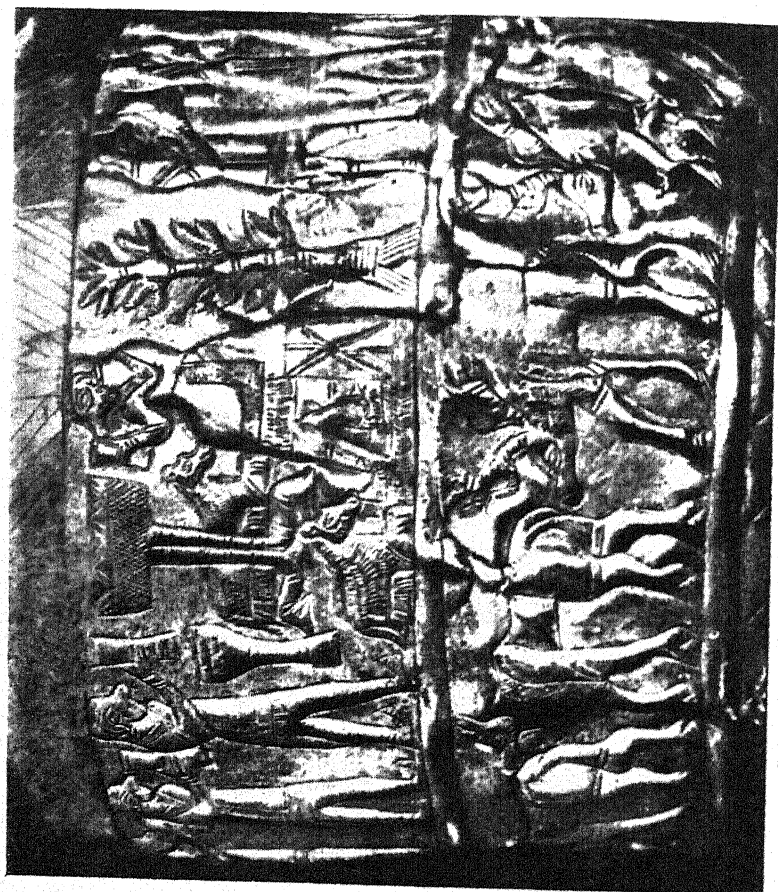
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of the Late Bronze Age civilization of Transcaucasia, in spite of their undeniable originality and superior quality.

The unearthing in the middle of Georgia of this hitherto unknown civilization of the Late Bronze Age has crowned with deserved success researches conducted with a remarkable technique by the Russian scholars entrusted with the exploration at Trialeti. May one hope that a full and detailed account after the war will soon allow a fuller assessment of the importance of discoveries that throw so much light on the archæology of the Caucasus and the countries adjoining it.

Thanks are due to Professor E. H. Minns of Cambridge for the use of his copy of the Report for the reproduction of the plates, and to Sir Richard Winstedt for assistance with the translation.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plates VI, *a*, VIII, *b* (Kuftin, l.c. pl. lxxxviii). Silver bucket with golden mounting and embossed ornamentation figuring wild animals in a stylized forest (ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* XVII.

Plate VI, *b* (Kuftin, l.c. pl. cvi). Bronze socketted spearhead with silver ferrule (ca. $\frac{1}{3}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* XV.

Plate VI, *c* (Kuftin, l.c. pl. lxxxvii). Bronze cauldron on hollow foot (ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* XV.

Plate VII, *a* (Kuftin, l.c. pl. lxxvi). Vase in red clay with thin bright engobe and brown paint (ca. $\frac{1}{10}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* XVII.

Plate VII, *b* (Kuftin, l.c. pl. lxxvii). Vase in red clay with whitish thick engobe and dark brown glossy paint (ca. $\frac{1}{10}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* XVII.

Plate VII, *c* (Kuftin, pl. lxxx). Vase in red clay with reddish engobe and dark red paint (ca. $\frac{1}{10}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* VI.

Plate VIII, *a* (Kuftin, pl. lxxxi). Vase in red clay, red paint and dark decoration (ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* VII.

Plate VIII, *b* (Kuftin, pl. xci). Silver goblet with religious scene, embossed (ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* V.

Plate VIII, *c* (Kuftin, pl. lxxxii). Vase in red clay, red paint and dark decoration (ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size). Trialeti, *kourgane* VII.

Plate IX (Kuftin, pl. xcii). Detail of religious scene on silver goblet, see Pl. VIII, *b*. Trialeti, *kourgane* V.

Folklore Motifs in Canaanite Myth¹

By T. H. GASTER

I. The Banishment of the Rebel Gods

II. Tasting the "Food of Death"

THE Canaanite poem of Aliyan Ba'al and Mot, discovered at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), is now familiar to most students of ancient Semitic literature.² As I have repeatedly pointed out,³ it is the *libretto* of a seasonal pantomime representing the victory of Rain over Drought. By comparison with the Arabic terms *ba'l* and *mawuth*, the names of the two antagonists may be rendered "Sir Rain" and "Sir Drought".

Although the main outlines of the story are now reasonably clear obscurity still attaches to specific passages and to the general sequence of the action. This is largely due to philological difficulties and to the imperfect state of our documents; but there is another factor, hitherto ignored. Our texts contain a number of motifs familiar to students of comparative folklore, but apt to be overlooked by pure Semitists. Not infrequently recognition of these motifs helps to clarify what would otherwise be obscure and to recover the dramatic continuity of the story. Thus, it has not yet been noticed that the myth of Aliyan Ba'al and Mot embraces the familiar element of the banishment of Rebel Gods from Heaven—a myth to which allusion is made in Genesis vi, 2-4, and in Isaiah xiv, 12 ff. Nor has it been noticed that the way the vanquished Mot lures his victor, Aliyan Ba'al, into the netherworld is by inviting him to a banquet at which he will unwittingly taste the "food of death" that prevents return to earth. If we read our texts without regard to this very familiar folklore we lose the point of the entire episode.

This paper is concerned exclusively with these two motifs. It will attempt to group the relevant passages of the Ras Shamra text, and to interpret them in the light of comparative mythology and folklore. The essay is a forerunner to my forthcoming book *Ancient Semitic Drama*, which will collect, translate, and analyse all the Mesopotamian and Canaanite texts that may be regarded as the *libretti* of sacred dramas, and which will endeavour to trace the continuity of their essential pattern both in Greek comedy and tragedy and in medieval miracle and mummers' plays.

I

The Ras Shamra myth of Aliyan Ba'al and Mot embraces several elements other ancient peoples preserved in the story of the *Theomachia*, or Battle of the Gods, the most familiar example being the classical legend of the rebellion organized by the Titans against the sovereignty of Zeus. In each of these sister myths the rebels, after their discomfiture, are relegated to the netherworld, or to some barren and inaccessible region. The Titans are hurled into Tartaros, beneath the ocean, while in the Babylonian myth of Marduk's combat with Tiamat, that monster's associates are consigned to caverns (*tubqātē*) beneath the earth.⁴ In the Canaanite version from Ras Shamra this element is also present, thus far imperfectly recognized owing to difficulties of translation and exegesis.

(1) Our first text is II AB, vii, 1-58. Mot defeated, Aliyan Ba'al (i.e. Ba'al Puissant) resumes control of the earth. A palace (*h-k-l*) is built for him, just as in the Babylonian myth the victorious Marduk is honoured by the construction of a shrine, and just as in Psalm xciii the triumph of the Israelite Yahweh over sea and river is associated with his occupation of a sanctuary.⁵ Before entering that habitation, however, Aliyan Ba'al divides the world between himself and his adversary, taking as his share inhabited cities, and assigning to his foe woodlands and barren wastes. Of his own estate he says clearly (lines 7-12):—

'br ⁶ l['r] 'r-m, ⁷	He passed from city to city,
šb [lpdr] ⁸ pdr-m;	He turned from town to town;
šš lššm ahd ⁹ 'r	Sixty-six cities he took as his possession,
šb'm šb' pdr,	Seventy-seven towns;
šmny m B'l m	Yea, eighty did Ba'al
tš'm B'l mr ¹⁰	Even ninety did Ba'al

Then, to impress upon gods and men, and not least upon Mot, the full measure of his authority, Ba'al gives a display of his power as Lord of Storm and Thunder (lines 27-35):—

ypt h B'l bdqt ¹¹ 'rpt,	Ba'al opened a rift in the clouds;
qlh qdš B'l ytn,	His holy voice did Ba'al give forth,
yšny B'l š ih ¹² ;	Ba'al uttered his ;
qlh qdš [yt]r arš, ¹³	His holy voice shook the earth;
.	(The hills were convulsed),
grm thšn, ¹⁴	The valleys quaked,

<i>rtt</i> ¹⁵	A-tremble were the
..... <i>qdm ym</i> ¹⁶ east (and) west
<i>bmt arš</i> ¹⁷ <i>ttn</i> ¹⁸	The high places of the earth reeled.

The "voice of Ba'al", i.e. the thunder, gives utterance to a fiat consigning Mot to the woodlands and barren places (lines 35b-37a):—

<i>ib B'l tihd</i> ¹⁹ <i>y'rm</i> ,	Thou enemy of Ba'al, take thee the woodlands as thy possession,
<i>šnu Hd gpt gr!</i>	Thou foe of Hadad, the far extremes of the valley(s)!

This order of banishment is elaborated in a taunting challenge the victorious Alian Ba'al flings at Mot (lines 37b-52a):—

<i>wy'n Aliya B'l:</i>	Ba'al Puissant took up word:
<i>ib Hd, lm thš</i> , ²⁰	Enemy of Hadad, why art afear'd?
<i>lm thš nšq</i> ²¹ ? <i>dmrn</i> ²² !	Why fearest the combat? Fling down thy challenge!
<i>'n B'l! qdm</i> ²³ <i>ydh!</i>	Give Ba'al his answer! Confront his might!
<i>k tqž</i> ²⁴ <i>arz bymnh</i> ²⁵ !	For thou wilt (surely) smash (??) the cedar (he wields) in his right hand!
<i>bkm yšb B'l lbhth:</i>	Then Ba'al returned indoors (saying):
<i>u mlk u bl-mlk</i> ²⁶	Be he king or commoner,
<i>arš drkt</i> ²⁷ <i>yštkn dll</i> ²⁸ ?	Shall ever a cheapskate instal himself o'er the land of my dominion?
<i>al</i> ²⁹ ! <i>ilaš</i> ³⁰ <i>lbn ilm Mt</i> ,	Nay! I will send a message to chthonian Mot,
<i>'dd</i> ³¹ <i>lydd il Ġzr</i> ³² ;	A dispatch(?) to that hero, the beloved of El;
<i>ygra Mt bnpšh</i> ³³	Mot shall confine himself(?) to his tomb
<i>ystrn ydd bgngnh</i> ³⁴ !	The beloved (of El) shall keep hidden in his vault!
<i>aḥdy dymlk 'l ilm</i>	'Tis I alone who shall reign o'er the gods,
<i>dymru ilm wnšm</i>	Shall bring fatness to gods and men,
<i>dyšb['] hmlt arš!</i>	Shall sate the multitudes of the earth!

Aliyan Ba'al's message is conveyed to the imprisoned Mot through the agency of the divine ministrant Gpn-w-Ugr, an obscure "double" deity of the North Canaanite pantheon, who functions as a kind of Hermes or Mercury.^{34a} This passage of the text is extant in two copies, but both are incomplete, and it is only by

combining them that the sense can be made out (II AB, vii, 52b-58; *Syria*, xiii, p. 158, 6-13) :—

<i>gm lqlmh B'l k ysh:</i>	Moreover, Ba'al thus addresses his servitor :
<i>'n Gpn-w-Ugr,</i>	Look thou, Gpn-and-Ugr,
<i>bqlmt</i> ³⁵ <i>'mm Ym</i>	'Mid the servile band of the cohorts of the
	Sea,
<i>bn slmt</i> ³⁶ <i>rmt pr't ibr,</i> ³⁷	'Mid the gloom of the woody uplands,
<i>shrrm hbl[h],</i>	The parched places, shall be his portion.
..... <i>'rpt tht</i> ³⁸	(Where) clouds are held back(?),
<i>m'srm h</i> ³⁹	(Where) withheld are the
<i>qlš</i> ⁴⁰ <i>isr</i> ⁴¹	(Where) the snow.....

In other words, Mot is consigned to those two places recognized by the ancient Semites as the haunts of evil spirits : (a) woodlands and deserts, and (b) the realms beneath the sea. For the former see the references given by A. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, ii, p. 117, n. 5, and for the latter cf. the Akkadian text, *Babyloniaca*, vii, 171 : "evil corpse, come from the ocean" (*šulmu limnu itta apsu-uš-šu*). Cf. also Ps. lxxxviii, 7 : "Thou hast placed me in the nethermost Pit, in the dark places, in the ocean-bed (בְּמִצְלֵת)," and note especially that in the Greek myth the Titans also are relegated to an abode beneath the ocean (Hesiod, *Theogn.*, 815 ff. : δώματα ναιετάουσιν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο θεμέθλοις "houses do they inhabit which lie on the bed of the ocean"; cf. *ibid.*, 727 ff., 738). There is a pointed allusion to this in Micah vii, 17 : "He will tread our iniquities underfoot (יִכְבֹּשׁ), the same word as is used of the subjugation of Tiamat in *Enuma Elis*, iv, 116-18, 129) and all our sins shall be cast (rd. יְתִשְׁלֵכֵנִי archaic 3rd pl.) into the bed of the ocean."

(2) The fate of Mot and his associates in these gloomy abodes forms the subject of our next extract, I* AB, Column i. This passage is among the most difficult in the whole of the Canaanite literature of Ras Shamra (Ugarit), and has been variously interpreted.^{41a} There is one clue to put us on the right track, and that is the mention of Gpn-w-Ugr as the transmitter of a message to Aliyan-Ba'al. If we combine this clue with the general tenor of the passage, it becomes apparent that the extract is, in fact, Mot's reply to the communication from Aliyan Ba'al which, as we have seen, was conveyed to him by that same courier. The first part of the reply is broken away on the cuneiform tablet, but

since the whole of it is later repeated it can be confidently restored. The entire passage, then, reads:—

<i>pnh</i> ⁴² <i>š npš lbit thw</i> , ⁴³	Her nature it is that the appetite of the lioness craves for the lamb ;
<i>hm brlt anhr bym</i> ,	Lo, the yearning of the dolphin is for the sea,
<i>hm brky tkšd rumm</i>	Lo, with their legs wild bulls make naturally,
<i>‘n kžd aylt ;</i>	Yea, hinds make naturally for the fountain ;
<i>hm imt, imt,</i>	Yet I, behold, in sooth, in sooth,
<i>npš blt</i> ⁴⁴ ;	I have my appetite unslaked ;
<i>hmr . hmt</i> ⁴⁵	Mire
<i>bklāt ydy ilhm</i> ,	Wholesale ⁴⁶ do I eat ;
<i>hm šb’ ydt ybs’</i> ,	Behold, in sevenfold portions is it served to me as bread,
<i>hm ks ymsknh wkđ !</i>	Behold, cup and cruse they mix therewith !
<i>šhn</i> , ⁴⁷ <i>B’l, ‘m ahy</i> ,	O Ba‘al, do thou but suffer thirst along with my brethren,
<i>wan, Hd, ‘m aryj !</i>	And endure privation, O Hadad, with my companions !
<i>wlhm-m ‘m ahy lhm</i> ,	Or eat the kind of food my brethren have to eat,
<i>wštt ‘m a[ryj] yn</i> ,	And drink the kind of wine my companions have to drink ;
<i>p nšt</i> , ⁴⁸ <i>B’l</i> ,	Then, O Ba‘al, wouldst thou forget,
<i>[t]‘n at‘nk</i> ,	And surely enough, I would transfix thee !
. <i>k !</i>	(Yea, I would) thee !
<i>k tmhš Ltn bšn brh</i> , ⁴⁹	E‘en if thou shouldst smite Leviathan, the slant serpent,
<i>tkly bšn ‘qltn</i> , ⁵⁰	Make an end of the tortuous serpent,
<i>šlyt dšb’ rašm</i> , ⁵¹	That tyrant with the sevenfold heads,
<i>tškh</i> , ⁵² <i>ttrp</i> , ⁵³	Yet still wouldst thou fall weary, inert,
<i>šmm</i> , ⁵⁴ <i>krš</i> ⁵⁵ !	Exhausted, (?) !
<i>ip dk</i> ⁵⁶ <i>ank ispi ?</i>	How in the world can I feed myself ?
<i>utm žrq-m</i> , ⁵⁷ <i>amt-m !</i>	My blood is stopped ; I am destined to die !
<i>lyrt bnpš bn ilm Mt</i> ,	Would that <i>thou</i> hadst gone down to the tomb appointed for chthonian Mot,
<i>bmhmrt</i> ⁵⁸ <i>ydd Il Ġzr !</i>	To the pit appointed for that hero, the beloved of El !

A number of points call for comment. First Mot complains of

having to feed on mire (*hmr*). This is illustrated, as Cassuto and Albright have observed, by the Akkadian myth of the Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld, where the dead are said to feed on dust and mud (Obv. 8: "Dust is their sustenance, mud their food"; *ep̄ru bubussunu, akalšunu tītū*). So, in Egyptian thought, the denizens of the netherworld were believed to eat dirt and drink urine, and analogous ideas may be found in the Greek and Roman world (see S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, fasc. 1, p. 62; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Katabasis*, 2405 f.). The idea links up with the conception of Hades as a region of mud and slime. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (237) it is described as a place of "deep, deep mire and everlasting filth" (*βόρβορον πολλὸν καὶ σκῶρ αἰνῶν*), and as a region of "darkness and mud" (237: *σκοτός καὶ βόρβορος*), while Plato (*Republic*, ii, 363D) states that the wicked and impious are plunged into "a kind of mud" in Hades (*τοὺς δὲ ἀνοσίους αἰὶ καὶ ἀδίκους εἰς πηλὸν τινα κατορύττουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου*; cf. *Phaedo*, 690: "He who arrives in Hades unfortified by holy rite and sacrament will be made to lie in mud"; Cicero, apud Lactantium, iii, 19.6: "They thought that those stained by sin lie in mud; *sceleribus contaminatos in coeno iacere docuerunt*). Seneca, in his grisly description of the infernal regions (*Hercules Furens*, 686) mentions "the filthy marsh of stagnant Cocytus" (*palus inertis foeda Cocyti*), while Jewish folklore preserves much the same picture in Talmud, *Erubin*, 19a.

Next comes the emphasis on the *thirst* suffered by the dead in the netherworld. Cassuto has drawn attention⁵⁹ to Isaiah v, 13, which speaks of a man's glory being "drained by hunger" (*מִזֵּי רָעַב*; MT *מִתֵּי*, but cf. Deut. xxxii, 24) and "parched with thirst" (*צָחַה צָמָא*), the same word being used for "parched" as in our Ras Shamra text. We are also reminded of Psalm lxviii, 7, "but rebels dwell in parched soil" (*אֶדְ סוּרְרִים שְׁכֵנֵי צָחִיחָה*), where a derivative of the same root is used, and where there is, I think, a mythological allusion to the rebel gods (cf. v. 21: *וְלִיְיָהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְמִנָּת*; *תִּצְאוֹת*). The Arabs believed that the dead experience excessive thirst (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 182; Goldziher, *ARW.*, xiii, 45 f.), while in Egyptian funerary texts the soul of the dead is often represented as praying for water (S. A. Cook in Robertson-Smith, *Rel. Sem.*³, p. 580). In modern Palestinian belief the soul of the departed is

thought to visit his tomb on Friday night in quest of water (*JPOS.*, iv, 27). In the Orphic Tablets the soul parched with thirst requires cool water to drink (Kaibel, *CIGIS.*, 638, 8, $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\delta' \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota} \alpha\upsilon\eta \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$; Cretan tablets, ed. Gilbert Murray, *apud* Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 660-1: $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha \alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\omega \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ "Parched am I with thirst, and I perish", where $\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$ answers exactly to $s-h-y$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ to $nps blt$ of our text). Late Greek belief held that libations to the dead, originally a homœopathic rite to stimulate their influence on fertility, were designed to slake their thirst (P. Stengel, *Opferbrauche der Griechen*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1910, pp. 129 ff., 183 ff.), while already in the *Odyssey* (Book XI) the dead greedily devour the blood poured out for them. Seneca, in his description of the underworld, mentions especially the grievous hunger which attends the dead (Hercules Furens, 690: *Fames macsta*), and in the light of the parallels adduced above, it seems not impossible that when he speaks (*ibid.*, 702) of the filthy soil lying "for ever parched" (*foeda tellus torpet aeterno situ*), we should introduce a slight emendation (*viz. aeterna siti*) and obtain the sense: "the filthy soil lies parched with everlasting thirst."

Parallel to the phrase "suffer thirst" there occur in our text the words "and endure privation". The original is *uan*. If this is correctly derived from the root *a-w-n* (cf. Arabic أَن ; Hebrew nouns אֵן and תְּאֵנִים)⁶⁰—and the point is admittedly doubtful—here again there are interesting parallels. In Hebrew belief the dead are called רְפָאִים "the inert"—a name which recurs in Ugaritic and Phœnician texts, while in Job iii, 17, the inhabitants of Sheol are described as "they that are weary of strength" (תִּי־עֵי כָח). So, in Psalm lxxxviii, 5, the poet complains he is "reckoned with them that go down to the Pit, become as a man without vigour" (כְּגֵר אֶת־אֵל). The Egyptians called their dead *wrd 'ib*, literally "weary of heart" (Erman-Grapow, *HWB.*, p. 38), and the Greeks $\text{o\acute{\iota} καμόντες}$ of the same general sense (cf. *Odyssey*, xi, 474-5: $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\theta\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon} \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\iota} \textit{Ἀφραδέες ναίουσι, βροτῶν εἰδωλα καμόντων}$, "There dwell the dead without sense or feeling, phantoms of mortals whose weary days are done"; *trs.* W. H. D. Rouse).

II

In a curious phrase Mot, as if by a sudden malicious afterthought, suggests that Baal, rather than share the thirst and privation of the dead, should eat their kind of food and drink their kind of drink, adding significantly, "So wouldst thou forget" (*p nšt*). Here we have the idea that food eaten in the netherworld produces oblivion and prevents return. The Egyptians believed that on its way to the land of spirits the soul was met by a goddess who offered it food and drink for this purpose (Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*, p. 184), while Greek and Roman mythology preserves the same notion in the story how Proserpina was induced, while in Hades, to eat the seeds of a pomegranate (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 371-4: "Then Hades gave her to eat the honey-sweet kernel of a pomegranate, proffering it by stealth, so that for all time she never could be with Demeter again": αὐτὰρ ὄγ' Ἀϊδης Ῥοίης κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελήδεα, λάθρη Ἀμφί ἐ νωμήσας ἵνα μὴ γένοι ἤματα πάντα Ἀῖθι παρ' αἰδοίῃ Διμήτερι; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 530-2: "Proserpina will return to heaven, but only on the express condition that yonder she has touched no food with her mouth, for so it is ordained by the decree of the Fates": *repetet Proserpina coelum, Lege tamen certa, si nullos contigit illic Ore cibos; nam sic Parcarum foedere cautum est*). In the Kalevala, the Finnish hero Wainamoinen refuses for this reason to partake of drink in Manala (*Kalevala*, xvi, fr. 293). And the same idea obtains among many primitive peoples; the Zulus and Anatongas of South Africa hold that if the spirit of the dead touch food in the netherworld, it will never return to earth (Leslie, *Among Zulus and Anatongas*, p. 121), while the natives of New Caledonia, in the South Pacific, as well as the Melanesians and Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea tell how the departed are tempted to eat the food of the netherworld in order to secure their permanent incarceration in those regions (Gagnière, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Lyons, 1860, pp. 439 ff.; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 277, 286; G. Landtmann, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, London, 1927, p. 289; these references are taken from J. G. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, iii, 302 ff.). In Shinto myth the primeval goddess Izanami eats of the food of the "Land of Yomi", after her death, and this prevents her husband, Izanagi, from bringing her back (W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1921, p. 23).

The idea is also transferred to the world of fairyland; return therefrom is impossible, once its food has been tasted (E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, ch. iii; cf. Aarne-Thompson, *The Types of the Folk-Tale*, FF Communications, No. 14, Helsinki, 1928, p. 62, No. 400, III; Lewis Spence, *apud* David Grant, *A Feughside Fairy Tale*, Aberdeen, 1937, p. vi). All these parallels suggest that Mot's second thought is to adopt the ruse tried by Hades on Persephone and common in primitive folk-tales: he plans to get Aliyan Ba'al into his clutches by inducing him to visit the nether-world and there partake of food and drink. It is perhaps not without significance that in the classical version of the story the food consists of the seed of a pomegranate, as both in Sumerian and in Hittite usage, pomegranate-bread (NINDA-GUG; NINDA HAŠHUR) are common funerary dishes offered to the dead (Langdon, *JRAS.*, 1926, 33, n. 7; *KUB.*, xxx, 15, obv. 15).

(3) Thus far our principal texts refer to the banishment of the rebel gods. There are, however, a number of subsidiary allusions to be considered.

In II AB, Column viii, when Aliyan Ba'al dispatches Gpn-w-Ugr to Mot, this messenger is told to direct his course "toward the valley of T-r-g-z-z, toward the valley of Š-r-m-g" (lines 1-3). These two names are fictitious toponyms constructed, in common Asianic fashion (i.e. with the suffixes *-zi* and *-gi*), from those of the Hurrian deities Tarḫu and Šaruma.⁶¹ They are introduced, in the manner of folktales, to suggest a journey to some outlandish spot, as we say Timbuctoo. In the same way, a late poet of the Greek Anthology (vi, 240) bids Artemis "dispatch beyond the Hyperboreans the grievous illness of our most excellent sovereign" (νοῦσον τὴν στυγερὴν αὐθήμερον ἐκ βασιλῆος Ἑσθλοτάτου πέμψαις ἄχρις Ὑπερβορέων), while Horace (*Odes*, i, 21, 13) prays that Apollo may be induced by the prayer of Diana to "drive away from the people and their lord, the emperor, tearful war and sorry plague and famine, consigning them to the (remote) Persians and Britons" (*Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem Pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in Persas atque Britanos Vestra motus aget prece*). But what is of interest here is that the Asianic regions where Tarḫu and Šaruma hold sway lie to the north and north-west of Ugarit. (If Tarḫu is identical with the Classical Teucer, as has been supposed, we may compare with *Tarḫizzi* the name *Teucris*, anciently given

to the Troad !). So, we encounter the familiar idea that the devil, or alternatively the realm of the dead, *lies in the north* (see A. Jeremias, *OTLAE.*, ii, 257-8). According to the late Peter Jensen, Arallu, the realm of the dead, was identified with the North in the astral mythology of the Babylonians, while classical ideas relating to the Hyperboreans (i.e. "the people beyond the North" ??) also come into the picture. According to Gressmann and others the "northern" adversary mentioned obscurely in Joel, ii, 20 is likewise a mythological figure derived from the same piece of folklore.

The remoteness of the region to which Mot and his associates are Prometheus-fashion consigned is again mentioned in V AB, D 75b-80 (= VI AB, iii, 18-21a). This passage comes from an altogether different part of the drama, describing how the goddess 'Anat drives them from the sanctuary and holy hill of Ba'al, which they have usurped:—

ap mšn rgmm argmn:
lk, lk, 'nn ilm,
atm bštm wan šnt;
u gr lrhq, ilm,
inbb lrhq, ilnym,
šn mšpdm tbt 'nt arš,
šlš mth gyrm!

This is exceedingly difficult, and it is impossible to give a translation without clearing the ground. The first point we note is the juxtaposition of *ilm* and *ilnym*. These are again juxtaposed in I AB, vi, 46-7, where they occur in connection with *rpm*, or "shades", as also in IV Aqhat i, 2. It is therefore clear that they are denizens of the netherworld. Whatever *ilnym* may mean, *ilm* "gods" as a title of the dead can be readily explained from the fact that in Cappadocian texts *ilu* occurs as a synonym of *etiṣmu* "ghost" (cf. *BIN.*, iv, 96, 20: *kima ili u etiṣmi*; in TC 5, 5, the female necromancer is answered by an *etiṣmu*, but in *KTS.*, Pl. 25a, 7, by an *ilu*; see Oppenheim, *AfO.*, 1939, 352, n. 29). So in the Nuzu text 478, 6, *ilu* and *etiṣmu* occur side by side, while in 1 Samuel xxviii, 13, the ghost of Samuel, conjured by the witch of Endor, is described analogously as *elōhim*.⁶² Next, we have the obscure 'nn *ilm*. In II AB, viii, 15, he is again mentioned in connection with the netherworld, while in II AB, iv-v, 59, an analogous 'nn *Ašrt* ("the 'nn of Asherath") occurs in juxtaposition with *amt*

Ašrt ("the handmaid of Asherath"), and in *RS.*, 1929, No. 32, 4, someone is apparently addressed as having "purified thine heart like an 'nn" (*at brt lb k'nn*). From this it appears to follow that the 'nn *ilm* is the servitor of the nether *ilm*, i.e. another denizen of the underworld. Lastly, there is the enigmatic reference to a *qr*, which normally means "valley", or perhaps here "cavern" (cf. Arabic غار; Heb. מְעָרָה). Now, in I AB, v, 12, the subterranean abode of Mot is described as a *qr* (*qr knkny*), while in II AB, viii, 14 (a passage constantly misread!), mention is made expressly of the *qr* of the 'nn *ilm* (*wn qr 'nn ilm*). All the clues point to a description of Mot's gloomy abode in the netherworld. Combine this with the fact that the 'nn *ilm* are apparently addressed in the plural (*atm bštm*) and are ordered *lk lk* "go, go", and it is apparent that the passage contains a pronouncement of banishment upon the coterie of Mot. The translation will run somewhat as follows, though research may bring more light on details:—

<i>ap mšn rgmm argmn :</i>	Moreover, I have a further word to convey :
<i>lk, lk, 'nn ilm,</i>	Begone, begone, ye henchmen of the nether gods,
<i>atm bštm wan šnt</i> ⁶³ ;	Ye have dealt basely, but I am clean ;
<i>u</i> ⁶⁴ <i>qr lrhḡ, ilm,</i>	Oh, (?) there is a cavern far away, ye nether gods,
<i>inbb</i> ⁶⁵ <i>lrhḡ, ilnym,</i>	A hollow (?) far away, ye denizens of hell,
<i>šn mšpdm</i> ⁶⁶ <i>tḥt 'nt arš,</i>	Two layers beneath the springs of the earth,
<i>šlš mth</i> ⁶⁷ <i>gyrm!</i>	Three spans (?)

The general tenor of the passage finds a perfect parallel in Hesiod's description of the banishment of the Titans (*Theog.*, 717 f.): "These they sent beneath the broad earth so far beneath the earth as heaven is distant, even into gloomy Tartaros" (τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης πέμψαν . . . τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς, ὅσον οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ γαίης· ἴσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἤερόεντα).

So from the principal passages dealing with the fate of Mot and his associates, the conclusion emerges that he was banished to some outlandish region, there to dwell in a subterranean dungeon. In other words, he inhabits the two realms associated in Semitic thought with his name, viz. the arid and desert soil (Arabic *mawuth*) and the netherworld (Heb. *maweth*; Akkd. *bīt mūti*).

(4) But what of Aliyan Ba'al? Mot complained to him of his grievous plight (I* AB, Column i), and invited him to explore for himself the miseries of the netherworld. The upshot of this invitation is fully described (I* AB, Column ii). Ba'al becomes frightened at Mot's threatening tone, and sends him a message of abject surrender (I* AB, ii, 6-12):—

<i>graun Aliyn B'l,</i>	Ba'al Puissant grew afraid,
<i>št'nn</i> ⁶⁸ <i>Rkb 'rpt,</i>	The Rider on the Clouds grew frightened;
<i>tb' rgm lbn ilm Mt</i>	He proceeded to send word to chthonian Mot,
<i>šny lydd Il Ġzr:</i>	He sent word to the hero, beloved of El:
<i>tḥm Aliyn B'l,</i>	The speech of Ba'al Puissant,
<i>hwt Aliy qrdm:</i>	The word of him who prevails over warriors:
<i>bḥš,</i> ⁶⁹ <i>lbn ilm Mt,</i>	Show favour, O chthonian Mot,
<i>'bdk an wd'lmk!</i>	Thy servant am I, and one of thy perpetual slaves!

This abject surrender naturally delights Mot. Unfortunately the passage describing that delight (I* AB, ii, 20b-25) is badly damaged, isolated letters and words alone remaining, except for the initial line:—

smḥ bn ilm Mt Chthonian Mot rejoiced.

What next transpires is not quite clear, since the following two columns of the text are also seriously damaged. Apparently, some other deity attempts to intercede with the truculent and threatening Mot, since among the distinguishable words is the thrice repeated phrase

dm Mt ašḥ[n] Be silent, O Mot; I would speak,
and there is reference to "a large number of sheep" (*mud šin*) and other lavish gifts (*šgr mud*). Mot, however, appears to answer this intercession by preparing a banquet (I* AB, Column iv), evidently to lure Aliyan Ba'al to taste the food of death. Where the text again becomes translatable (Column v), Aliyan Ba'al is being invited to descend into the netherworld, along with his companions. He complies, whereupon two unnamed messengers (the "double-deity", Gpn-w-Ugr ??) report to the supreme god, El, that "Ba'al Puissant is dead; his highness the Lord of the earth hath perished" (Column vi, 9-10). The drama then passes over to the search for, and recovery of Aliyan Ba'al.

As (V AB, iv, 5 f.) Aliyan Ba'al is obliged to request the performance of special rites before his restoration can be accomplished Mot's ruse apparently proved successful, and Aliyan Ba'al was persuaded to taste the food of the netherworld and so forego the possibility of returning: the rites he mentions (the pouring of *shelem*-offerings⁷⁰ into the earth) would break the spell by giving him divine ambrosia or mortal food instead of that provided in the netherworld. This construction is supported by the analogy of the myth of Persephone who, brought back to earth, confesses that Pluto had forced her, against her will, to eat pomegranate seeds (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 411-13; cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi, 739-742).

NOTES

1. For the convenience of lay readers quotations are accompanied by an English rendering.

2. Principal literature: Ch. Virolleand, *Syria*, 1931, 193-224; 1932, 113-163; 1934, 226-243, 305-336; 1935, 247-266; *La Deesse 'Anat*, Paris, 1938; H. L. Ginsberg, *The Ugarit Texts*, Jerusalem, 1936, pp. 17-69 (Hebrew); W. F. Albright, *JPOS.*, 1932, 185-208; *BASOR.*, No. 46, 15-19; *JPOS.*, 1934, 115-130; J. A. Montgomery, *JAOS.*, 1933, 97-123; 1934, 60-4; R. Dussaud, *RHR.*, 1936, 1 ff.; 1937, 121-135; 1938, 133-169; H. Bauer, *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Shamra*, Berlin, 1936; J. Aistleitner, *Theologia*, 1935, 97-204; U. Cassuto, *Orientalia*, 1938, 265-290; *Dissertationes in Honorem Dr. E. Mahler*, Budapest, 1937, 53-7; *Tarbiz*, 1941, 169-180 (Hebrew); T. H. Gaster, *Iraq*, 1939, 109-143.

3. *Archiv Orientální*, 1933, 118-122; *JRAS.*, 1934, 678-680; *Religions*, 1937, 28-30; *Folk-Lore*, 1938, 370-5.

4. *Enuma Eliš*, iv, 113: *endu tubqātē*; cf. id., i, 64: *šalil tubqittum*. For the meaning see Zimmern, *MVAG.*, 1916, 216.

5. On this motif, see my remarks in *Syria*, xviii (1937), 230-2.

6. The second letter is indistinct. Previous editors read 'dr, but none explains it. My reading is based on the parallel šb, in the light of the Biblical idiom עִיבֵר וְשָׁב, Ez. xxxv, 7; Zech. vii, 14; ix, 8. For the turn of expression, cf. 2 Chron. xxx, 10, וַיְהִי דְרָעִים עִיבֵרִים מֵעֵר לְעֵר Cf. also Anat F 7: 'br gbl, 'br q'l 'pass over hill (Ar. جبل), pass over hillock (Ar. قوعدة)''.

7. The prefix denotes *from*, as frequently in Ugaritic; see

Gordon, *UG.*, § 9.10. The suffix is the particle *-ma*. For the omission of the preposition after a verb of motion, *vide* Gordon, § 8.54.

8. Compare Urartian *padari* "city", N. Syrian *Pethor*, Lycian *Patara*.

9. Cf. II AB, vii, 35-7: *ib B'l tiḥd y'rm*, "Enemy of Baal, take thou the woodlands as thy possession"; *RS.*, 1929, No. 20, 7, *laḥdt*. The sense is that of Biblical Niph'al נִפְחַל in Gen. xlvii, 27, Numb. xxxiii, 20, etc. Cf. also Heb. noun נִפְחָה "a holding, landed estate", and Ethiopic አገዛ : *occupare*.

10. For the gradation, cf. my notes, *Iraq*, 1939, 142, n. 239; 143, Add., and Gordon, § 6.52.

11. *bdqt* suggests also the meaning of "runnel, gutter for rain"; cf. Akk. *butuqtu* (Maspero, *Rec.*, xvi, 176, 20, *mēšu ana butuqti . . . ibataq*).

12. Restored by Virolleaud as *B'l š[at šp]th*. Ginsberg prefers *B'l š[pn hwt]h*.

13. The verb *ytr*, a restoration of my own, derives either from *n-t-r* (BH. נָתַר), or from *t-r-r* (Ar. تَرَّرَ; Akkd. *tarāru* "tremble"). Cf. I AB, vi, 52: *bym Arš wTnn Kšr wHss yd* (יָדַ), *Kšr wHss ytr*, "into the sea both Monster and Dragon do Koshar and Ḥasis hurl, do Koshar and Ḥasis make to spring." Cf. also II AB, v, 83: *wtr arš || d's* (Heb. דָּרַץ). We may also compare Hab., 3, 6, רָצָה וַתֵּרַץ גִּימִים.

14. Previous editors read *aḥšn*, but the tablet appears to allow *thšn*, which is the *t*-type of 3rd pl. The verb is the Akkadian *ḥašû*, Ar. خشي "be in trepidation". For the sentiment, cf. *EA.*, 149, 14-15, Winckler: *ša iddin rigmašu ina šamē kima Addu û tarkup matātē ištu rigmišu*, "Who giveth forth his thunder in the skies like Hadad, and the lands tremble (Ar. رَفَفَ, T.H.G.) at his thunder"; King, *Magic*, 21, 22 (Adad) *nadin rigmē du* (*innadu* ? cj. T.H.G.) *huršani*, "Adad giveth forth thunders, (and) the mountains are shaken." Cf. also Ps. xviii, 6, Nahum i, 5, etc.

15. Previous editors read *rtq* without explaining it. The tablet shows, however, that what has been read as *q* is really *t* followed by the word-divider. The verb *r-t-t* is the Hebrew רָתַת (Amos ix, 1), Akkd. *ratātu* and Syriac ܪܬܬ "tremble".

16. Previously read as one word *qdmym*, without explanation.

It is the Hebrew קָדַם + יָם "east (and) west". *Qdm* "east" recurs in the Ras Shamra text, *Syria*, xvi, 247 f., Col. 1, line 8.

17. For *bmt arz*, cf. Hebrew בְּמִתֵּי אֶרֶץ, Deut. xxxii, 13; xxxiii, 29; Is. lviii, 14; Micah i, 3; Amos iv, 13.

18. Cf. II AB, ii, 17: *ttt*, "she leaps," and perhaps also BH. תָּנִישׁ, Ps. xcix, 1.

19. See above, n. 5.

20. See above, n. 14.

21. Cf. BH. נִשֶּׂק "encounter". Notice, however, that Ugaritic has *nšq* rather than *nšq*, which we should expect, if the word be really identical with נִשֶּׂק "kiss" (for Ugarit *nšq*, "kiss," cf. SS 49, 51; 1 Danel lxiv, 64, 71; 2 Danel i, 40). Perhaps we should postulate two distinct roots.

22. Cf. Arabic ذَمَرُ VI *invicem incitaverunt ad pugnam*; S. Arabian ذَمَر; Ethiopic ዘመረ: *summon to judgment*. Dillmann, *Eth. Lex.* s.v. confuses two separate roots: (i) **ዘሞረ** = ذَمَر, and (ii) **ዘመረ** = زَمَرَ "sing".

23. For קָדַם in a military sense, cf. 2 Sam. xxii, 6; Ps. xvii, 13; Sabæan, *CIS.*, iv, 79, 9; *ibid.*, 309, 4; 334, 4.

24. The derivation and meaning of this verb are not clear.

25. Ginsberg (*Orientalia*, 1940, 44) calls attention to the Egyptian Papyrus, Leyden, 343, vs. 4, where Baal is said to be armed with a cedar. But *arz* may here mean no more than *cedar-wood lance*, like the Homeric ἐλάτῃ, μελία *ashen spear*, and Latin *abies* in Vergil, *Aeneid*, xi, 667. If MT וְהַפְּרִישִׁים הָרַעְלָהּ is correct in Nahum ii, 4, this will afford a good parallel, but I am inclined to adopt there LXX's וְהַפְּרִישִׁים (οἱ ἰππεῖς), though interpreting it from the Akkadian *puruššu*, "staff."

26. Lit. "non-king". Cf. *bl mt*, "immortality" (lit. "non-death"), in 2 Danel vi, 27. We may compare the phrasing in the Eshmun'azar inscription from Sidon, line 4: **כל ממלכת וכל אדם**, "any king or commoner." For the sentiment, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 493 f.: καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέπινε Κρόνος μέγας, ὅστις ἕκαστος | νηδύος ἐξ ἱερῆς μητρὸς πρὸς γόναθ' ἴκοιτο | τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα μὴ τις ἀγανῶν Οὐρανιῶνων | ἄλλος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι ἔχοι βασιλῆϊδα τιμῆν.

27. For *drkt*, cf. *Battle of Sea and Rain*, 10: *tqh mlk 'lmk, drkt dt dr dr*; II AB, vi, 34-5: *lksu mlkh || lkhs drkth*, etc.

28. Cf. Arabic ذَّي; BH. זִיִּל.

29. Asseverative particle, originating in a rhetorical interrogative (cf. the German colloquial "nicht?" at the end of a sentence). See Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 181; Herdner, *GLECS.*, iii, 57 f.; Gordon, *UG.*, § 8.14. Comparable, I think, is the Arabic particle لَا used by ancient poets, and fifty-four times in the Koran, to introduce sentences; on this, see Bauer, *ZDMG.*, 208-9. Similar, too, is the development of Ugaritic *bl* from a negative (Phoen. and Hebrew בל) to an asseverative particle (Ar. بَل; Heb. אֲבָל). Cf. Latin *quin* with imperatives, e.g. *quin sic attendite, iudices* (Cicero). Ginsberg tentatively compares the Tell Amarna asseverative *allu*, used in North Syrian letters, but the equivalent of *allu* is more probably the Ugaritic *hl* of SS 47; cf. also *hlm* and *whln* (Gordon, *UG.*, §§ 10.5 and 11.7).

30. Cf. Ethiopic ለሕን, "send," and root of Hebrew מִלֵּאֵף.

31. This stands for *a'dd*, like *'dbnn* for *a'dbnn* in II AB, ii, 22. So Ginsberg. But we may also explain it as an inf. abs. having the force of a finite verb: see Gordon, § 8.25. For the meaning, which is a guess, cf. *lak* || *'dd* in I AB, iv, 23-5.

32. Common title of Mot, meaning "warrior, hero".

33. *npš* has this sense in Aramaic, Phoenician, Nabatean, Palmyrene, and South Arabian.

34. Cf. Akkd. *gigunu*, from Sumerian *GI.GUN*, "dark place," i.e. "vault".

34^a. The meaning of the name is obscure. Albright's suggestion, "Vine and Field," based on Akkd. *ugaru*, "field," is scarcely tenable, since the equivalent of *ugaru* is surely the Arabic حَجَر.

35. Collective sg. from *glm* "servitor", like Hebrew עֲבֹדָה (Job i, 2) and Akkd. *ubbudētu* (*BO.*, iv, 131, 101). This interpretation is clinched by the occurrence of *glm Ym* as the name of a demon (|| *Ršp*) in I Keret, 24. The *'mm Ym* are the cohorts of Yammu, the rebellious Sea-god (cf. Ar. عَم and Heb. עֲמָמִים in this sense, Judges v, 14). His fight with Ba'al is described in the Ugaritic text edited by the present writer in *Iraq*, 1937, 21-32, and there is a further allusion to it in *Anat V AB*, iii, 51: *lmḥšt mdd-II Ym, ukl Nhr il rb-m*, "Lo, I have vanquished Yammu, the beloved of El; lo, I made have an end of the River, that great

god!" Cf. also Psalm lxxiv, 13, אַתָּה פִּדְדָתָּ בְּעֹזְךָ יָם, "Thou with Thy might didst shatter Yammu"; Job vii, 12 יָנֵם אֲנִי הֵנֵן בִּי תִשָּׁר עלִי מִשְׁמֶר. "Am I then Yammu or Tannin, that thou shouldst set watch over me?" Just as Yammu corresponds to the Babylonian Tiamat, so his cohorts (*mmm*) answer to the *qisrē* (cohorts) of that monster in the Epic of Creation. They are sent beneath the earth, there to serve as Asakke-demons (cf. *glm Ym* || *Ršp!*).

36. Cf. Arabic ظم; Akkd. *šalmu*; Hebrew צָלַמְתָּ (= צָלַמְתָּ).

37. Cf. Arabic وفرع, "let hair grow unkempt," and Arabic وبر "hair". As applied to a woodland, cf. Arabic شجرة *arboretum*, Hebrew יַעֲרֵר, and cf. in Greek, Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 41: ὄρος κεκομμημένον ὕλη.

38. Perhaps, in view of || *m'srm* (with which cf. Hebrew עָצַר אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם), we should restore *thl[škn]*, "are withheld," from *h-š-k* = Heb. חָשַׁךְ (cf. Job xxviii, 23).

39. We require a parallel to 'rpt, "clouds," and *glš*, "snow" (? so Ginsberg). Hence I suggest *h[zzm]* = Hebrew הַצִּיָּים, "rain-clouds" (Zech. x, 1; Job xxviii, 26; xxxviii, 25).

40. The word recurs in II AB, v, 68: *B'l y'dn 'dn škt bglš*, where Ginsberg suggests comparison with Arabic ثلج, Heb. טָלַג "snow".

41. *isr* suggests a parallel to *m'srm*; but, if it is from אָסַר, I cannot parse the form.

41^a. Ch. Virolleaud, *Syria*, xv (1935), 305 ff.; R. Dussaud, *RHR.*, 1935, 35 ff.; H. L. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 161 ff.; U. Cassuto, *Tarbiz*, 1941, 169 ff. (Hebrew); W. F. Albright, *BASOR.*, No. 83 (October, 1941), 39-42; (contra, H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR.*, No. 84, 12-14; Albright's rejoinder, *ibid.* 14-17. I agree with Ginsberg).

42. Cf. Arabic فن "nature". This construction is proved correct by the apocopated form *thw*; see S. R. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, App. II, §§ 172, 175.

43. Explained by Albright from Arabic هوى "desire, crave for". I see the expression again in I Danel, 198, where we should read *i[šq]l-m agrth npš th[w]*, "I will pay for it whatever reward you desire." The Hebrew equivalent, not noticed by Albright, is

אָתָה נָפֵשׁ; Is. xxvi. 9; Micah vii, 1; Prov. xxi, 10; Job xxiii, 13; Deut. xiv, 26; xii, 20, etc.

44. Sachs has called attention to Akkd. *napišta bullū* "to extinguish life, breath", but here *npš* also has the suggestion of "appetite".

45. Previous editors read *imt*, but the facsimile clearly exhibits *hmt*, with space for an initial letter. I had thought of *hmr thmt*, like יֵין מְצִילָה in Ps. lxxix, 3, but this is perhaps too venturesome.

46. Lit. "with both my hands".

47. Editors read *šha*, but the facsimile clearly exhibits *šhn*, as already suggested by Bauer.

48. Cf. Hebrew נָשָׁה, Arabic نَسِيَ (Cassuto). Cassuto takes the verb as a passive, "thou shalt be forgotten," but our parallels suggest an active sense. The perfect tense indicates assuredness; Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 13, 14. The preceding *p* is the Arabic ف "so then".

49. Cf. Isaiah xxvii, 1; Job xxvi, 13, נָדַשׁ בָּרֶחַ (לִיִּיתָ). I cannot agree with Albright (*BASOR.*, 83, 39, n. 5) that בָּרֶחַ means "primeval", from the basic meaning "pass", since this alleged *temporal* meaning of the root is surely a later nuance of "to flee", like Latin *tempus fugit*: Egyptian *dr bzḥ* to which he appeals (after Ember) does *not* mean "from of old", but "before, previously", and certainly does not prove the existence of a Semito-Hamitic *brḥ*, "be transitory," since we also find *m bzḥ* in the *local* sense of "in front of" (cf. Coptic Ⲡⲗⲁⲑ; Erman-Grapow, *HWB.*, p. 45). Albright appears to have entirely misunderstood the meaning of the Egyptian preposition, for *bzḥ* is properly a noun meaning "foreskin" or "testicles", so that *m bzḥ* means literally "in the foreskin/testicles of"; see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 132, § 178. I would suggest that *brḥ* may connect with Arabic رَجَحَ "an animal which approaches from the left, and is therefore ill-omened", e.g. "sinister".

50. Again mentioned in *Anat*, V AB, iii, 54. Cf. Is. xxvi, 1. *Bšn* is the Hebrew-Aramaic בָּשָׂן, and possibly also the Akkd. *bašmu*.

51. So again in V AB, iii, 54. Cf. Ps. lxxiv, 14. Hooke, *Origins of Semitic Ritual*, p. 39, calls attention to a seven-headed hydra on a seal from Tell Asmar. See my note, *Iraq*, 1939, 139, n. 211.

52. Albright compares Hebrew נָדַשׁ "waste away". The root

שָׁבַח "waste", however, had already been recognized by Eitan in Ps. cxxxvii, 5, אַתָּה אֲשַׁבֵּחַ וְיִשְׁלַם תִּשְׁבַּח יָמָיו, and on this basis I had already proposed the rendering "thou shalt waste away" in my M.A. Thesis, London University, 1936.

53. From rt. *r-p-y*, "be flaccid, inert." Note that the shades are called *rpum* "the inert".

54. Cf. Hebrew שָׁמַיִם (of persons), Is. lii, 14; Job xvii, 8, etc. Previous editors have taken this word to mean "heaven" (Heb. שָׁמַיִם), with strained sense.

55. The meaning of this word is unknown. Cassuto's combination with Heb. בֶּרֶשׁ "belly" is impossible, in view of Arabic كَرَش and Akkd. *karšu*, which would thus require *krš*. Albright emends *krks* and renders *šrp šmn krks ipdk*, "the heavens shall sag like the fastening of thy robe (אֶפְדֶּךָ)." But this scarcely makes sense, since it is difficult to understand how the *fastening* (Greek σφενδόνη) could *sag*. Become undone, yes, but not sag.

56. Virolleaud and Albright render "thine ephod", the latter scholar comparing the Cappadocian *epattu* "wrap". Cassuto compares אֶפֶד in Judges viii, 28 f., which appears to denote some kind of idol (cf. אֶפְדָּה, Is. xxx, 22), and renders "I will glut my belly with thine idols" (i.e. Death will swallow up the ornaments of Ba'al's cult). However, apart from the difficulty that *krs* cannot = בֶּרֶשׁ (see previous note), it is doubtful whether אֶפֶד in Judges viii, 26, really means "idol". Tentatively, I suggest אֶפְדָּה. For אֶפֶן, "how in the world," cf. Job xvii, 15; xix, 6; xxiv, 25; Ethiopic *efô*, and Aramaic (Aḥiqar) אֶפֶן. The word אֶפֶן is then a quasi-deictic enclitic, like Hebrew לְמַדְּהָהּ אֶפֶן, etc.

57. The rendering is due to Albright, who compares Hebrew אָטַם "stop up" and Akkad. *šarqu*, "red blood." This is supported by Arabic medical *āṭam* in the sense of *retentio urinae* and Talmudic אָטַם "to have congestion (of the lungs)" in Hullin, 47b—a citation I owe to Dr. Boaz Cohen, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. But I do not agree with Albright that *šrqm* is necessarily plural (like Hebrew רָמִים). The final *-m* may be nothing but the enclitic suffix *-ma*.

58. For this word, cf. Ps. cxl, 11, יִפְּלֶם בַּמַּדְמֹת בִּלְיָקוֹמוֹ.

In the Talmud it is stated that the bones of criminals were first consigned to the *מדרגות*; then, when "the flesh had been consumed", they were collected and placed in ossuaries. In II AB, viii, 12, and I* AB, ii, 15, the abode of Mot is styled *qrt hmry*, clearly from the same root. The exact meaning is uncertain.

59. Tarbiz, xii (1941), p. 171.

60. Ugaritic *un*, "mourning," seems to occur in I *AB, vi, 15.

61. *Trqzz* is composed of the divine name *Tarḥu* with the local suffix *-zzi*, as in e.g. *Ruḥizzi*; see Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 141; Oppenheim, *WZKM.*, xliv, 206 f. For the spelling *Trq*, cf. Rs. Bauer, 54, 5, *Trqds* = *Tarḥutaše* (?); cf. Cilician *Δάσρακον*, and probably also Heb. *תרעהים*, 1 Chron. ii, 55. For *Tarḥu* on Asianic soil, cf. *Tarḥundarauš*, king of Arzawa, *EA.*, 31; *Tarḥulara*, king of Markaš, Sargon II, Prism 20 (Weissbach, *ZDMG.*, 1918, p. 178); Luvian deity *Tarḥunza*, Bo. 3124, obv. 22. Cf. also the Hyksos names *Trgtt* and *Trgnns*, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Nos. 1118-19; *OLZ.*, December, 1931; Reuben, *PEFQS.*, 1932, 104-6. See fully Ginsberg-Maisler, *JPOS.*, 1934, 252. Hrozný, *ZA.*, 1929, 171 f., compares Etruscan *Tarchon* and Latin *Tarquinius*. Others have compared Lycian *trqq-* (e.g. n.pr. Xanthos stele, N. 63: *Trqqntāsi* = *Trqds* ?), Armenian *Tork* and Phrygian *Teukros*. If the last-named equation is correct, our *Trqzz* will be comparable with *Teukris* as an early name of the Troad (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 113; Herod., ii, 118).

Šrmg is the divine name *Šrm* with suffix *-gi*, as in e.g. *Timaš-gi* (Damascus); see Speiser, op. cit., p. 154, n. 113. For *Šrm(n)* in Ugaritic texts, cf. 1929, No. 1: 12; ii, 19 (unless read there *Škmm*); xix, 18, and xxxiv, 3 (Hurrian). Associated in xxxiv, 2-3, with Hurrian goddess Sauska, *Šrm* may be identified with the deity *Šarruma* of the Tell Ta'anek proper name *Puti-Šaruma*. However, association with Hurrian *Šarma* of *KUB.*, XI, 27, i, 8; XVII, 14, 10; XXV, 34, iii, 4; XXV, 50, ii, 15 (see fully Goetze, *Mursilis*, p. 249) is also possible.

The names are chosen to convey an exotic impression, as who should say "journey to the land of Odin, cross the deserts of Allah, wander through the fields of Arcadian Pan". In the same way, in V AB, F 7 ff., messengers are thus instructed to journey to the artisan-god Koshar:—

'br gbl, ^a 'br q'l ^b	Pass over mountain, pass over hill,
'br pit (?) np šmm	Pass o'er the heights of heaven ;
šmšr, ^c l Dgy Asrt, ^d	Repair, Sir Fish, servant of Asherat,
mq ^e lQdš-Amrr,	Journey, O Qadesh-Amurru,
idk al ttu pnm	Behold, steer thy course
tk Hqkpt ^f Il klh	To the midst of Memphis
Kptr g ksu šbth	To Crete, the seat of his abiding,
Hkpt arš nhlth!	To Memphis, his landed estate !

62. It is perhaps worth mentioning that according to J. H. Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 33, Greek θεός (**dhwesos*, cf. Latin *festus* and *feralis*) meant originally "ghost". Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, xii, 35, n. 1, cites an alleged instance of Akkd. *ilāni* = "departed spirits", but this is doubtful.

63. Cf. Arabic بَسْ "be base", and Ethiopic ሠዕ : "be fair, noble" (Gordon). This rendering, while plausible, is not certain.

64. I cannot explain the initial *u*, except perhaps as an exclamation, akin to Ethiopic ኃ [ō] as an *inseparable* particle. Cf. Syriac ܐ.

65. *inbb* is again conjoined with *qr* in *RS.*, 1929, No. 6, 9, but the context is obscure. Aistleitner (*ZAW.*, 1939, 203) cleverly compares Arabic *'unbub* which appears to mean "part of a pipe" (Dozy), considering the reference to be a subterranean tunnel. In that case I would derive from נבב "be hollow, have holes" (cf. Ex. xxvii, 8), whence Akkd. *imbubu* "flute", Aramaic אַמְבּוּבָא, etc. For the prefix *i-*, cf. Akkd. *imbubu* and Ugaritic *ignu* > קנא, "dark stone".

66. Cf. Arabic فُف "superimpose"; hence, "layer, stratum." Cf. Hesiod, *Theogn.*, 717 ff. (on the expulsion of the Titans): πέμψαν . . . τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γᾶς ὅσσον οὐρανὸς ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης | ἴσον γὰρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα.

67. Cf. Hebrew בָּתַח ; Akkd. *malāhu*, "spread out."

^a Cf. Arabic جَل.

^b Cf. Arabic قَالَة ; Heb. קָעִילָה (Jos. xv, 44).

^c Cf. Akk. *mašaru* ; S. Arab.)ḪḪ.

^d See *JRAS.*, 1935, 39, n. (a).

^e Cf. Akkd. *maḥū* "hie", as I first pointed out in *JRAS.*, 1935, 19, n. 62.

^f Egyptian Hikuptah, "House of Ptah," i.e. Memphis. The name is chosen because Koshar, the artisan, is virtually equivalent to Ptah.

^g Heb. כִּפְתָּר. Weidner has recently suggested (*AJA.*, 1939) that כִּפְתָּר may be the equivalent of Greek *Kúthēpa*.

68. Cf. Is. xli, 10, שֶׁתַּע || יִרָא (Ginsberg).
69. Cf. Arabic بَهْت and S. Arabian 𐩦𐩣𐩪 (Ginsberg).
70. At Ras Shamra the *šlm* (Heb. שֶׁלֶם) is, apparently, a drink-offering. See Dussaud, *Syria*, xvii (1936), 101-2. Dussaud's argument may be supported from S. Arabian *mšlm*, for Rijkmans has shown (*Muséon*, v, 171) that a monument (his No. 4) bearing an inscription so styling it has drainage hollows in its longer sides. This deduction, however, is not altogether certain; see Beeston, *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 170.
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The Penetration of the Copernican Theory into Feudal Japan

By BOLESŁAW SZCZEŚNIAK

(PLATES X AND XI)

WESTERN science began to penetrate to the Far East at the end of the sixteenth century, along with the Christian faith spread by Portuguese Jesuits.

Astrology was important in both China and Japan. It included not only a limited knowledge of astronomy, but some philosophy and logic. The advent of astronomical knowledge as understood in Europe was the beginning of a new kind of science, which did not affect the East's traditional view of the universe; although at first information from Europe about medicine, physics, and astronomy reached the Far East along with the doctrines of Christianity, as a means of attracting converts to what the Chinese termed a new philosophy of life. An early propagator of Western civilization in China was the Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1553-1610), who taught medicine and astrology together with the principles of Catholicism. Another Jesuit, Francis Xavier, advised his superiors to send a mission consisting not only of the devout but also of the cultured.

Missionaries in China were under the protection of the Imperial Court and of men of science. In Japan they encountered hostility, and at first only private individuals remote from the influence of the government could make contact with the "southern barbarians". A century of Christian missionary effort from 1545 to 1630 failed to establish permanently Western knowledge. For in 1616 the Shogun Ieyasu abolished the right of missionaries to enter Japan so that the spreading of Western scientific ideas passed from the Portuguese Jesuits to Dutch merchants, the only people allowed to trade, under very difficult conditions, with a nation that had closed its doors to foreigners. A small island, Deshima, lying at the entrance to the Port of Nagasaki, became the trading centre and the only entry for European science.

In the seventeenth century the Dutch introduced to Nagasaki books on astronomy, medicine, mathematics and the military arts, and these books were not only highly appreciated but translated into Japanese and eagerly studied.

In the Far East there has never been the same uneasiness about celestial investigation as in the West. European civilization, with its Christian background, inherited an ethical conception of heaven, and makes a spiritual symbol out of the material sky. Chinese thought had a materialistic outlook, regarding the sky merely as something which differs from earth, and accepting among its components the stars, whose influence, it was thought, makes for harmony or discord in the affairs of earth. To the Chinese mind man had to find a formula for individual and social behaviour in harmony with heaven. But this problem is not important enough to create the social upheaval the Church feared in Europe. It would be interesting, indeed, to investigate from this angle the influence of European astronomy on the formation of the Eastern outlook, were not this study limited to the influence of the Copernican discoveries on astronomy in Japan. For with the advent of Copernican astronomy the same breakaway occurred in the Far East as in Europe when Copernicus "stopped the sun and moved the earth". The Jesuits taught Ptolemaic astronomy in the days of Fr. Matteo Ricci, and only changed over to the Copernican system in the seventeenth century.

After 1616 Portuguese missionaries had to leave Japan, but for more than half a century there remained traces of their Ptolemaic theories.¹

However, even before the removal of the new ban on the import and translation of foreign books, Japanese scholars risked Samurai persecution by smuggling into Nagasaki books and astronomical instruments, maps and drawings, carried to the East by Dutch traders, mostly Protestants. Dutch books on astronomy brought some news of the Copernican theory, and Dutch traders fulfilled as great a mission for civilization in Japan, as the sacrifices of Catholic missionaries did for China. A great development took place in the mathematical knowledge of Feudal Japan, and it is amazing how quickly Western astronomy was grasped at a time when there was no basic scientific knowledge.

Van Schooten, a Dutch mathematician, writes of one of his pupils in his *Tractatus de concinnandis demonstrationibus geometricis ex calculo algebraico* as follows: *Placuit maioris certitudinis ergo*

¹ See Wakan-sansai-zue part "Ten", Edo, 1706.

² See also B. Szczesniak: "Notes on the development of Astronomy in the Far East," in *Polish Learning and Science*, June, 1943.

*idem theorema synthetice verificare, procenda a concessis ad quaesita, prout ad hoc me instigavit praestantissimus ac undequaque doctissimus iuvenis D. Petrus Hartsingius, Japonensis, quondam in addiscendis Mathematicis discipulus meus solertissimus.*¹

But on the whole the new knowledge was accepted rather than advanced: both Chinese and Japanese confined themselves to learning and teaching by means of literary excerpts from Dutch books.

In 1643, a hundred years after Copernicus had published his *De Revolutionibus*, there arrived in Japan a merchant vessel from the Philippines, and a missionary, by name Chiara Giuseppe, was found hidden on board. Torture made him deny his faith and he was given liberty. He passed a very humble life translating astronomical and medical books from the Spanish and Portuguese, and went by the name of Sawana Chuan. In 1650 he translated into Japanese a book in Roman characters, which in 1677 was transcribed in Japanese letters by Nishi Kichibei, interpreter of Portuguese in Nagasaki. It was called *The Southern Barbarian Book of Astronomy*, with the sub-title *A Southern Barbarian Book of Meteorology*. The astronomer, Mukai Gensho (1609-1677), added a commentary entitled *An Explanation of the Universe*. The commentary of the Japanese astronomer is interesting because it treats the five angles of polarity, whereas the original text of the manual treats the universe according to the elements of Aristotle. This is a typical work of pre-Copernican days.

Some of the Japanese interpreters in Nagasaki did not confine themselves to translation, but went on to make a study of Western science. Hayashi Kichizæmon and his pupil Kobayashi Yoshinobu (1601-1683) were typical examples. Kobayashi "was able to correct an error in the computation of an eclipse of the sun as recorded in the official calendar".²

At this time, as indicated in the biographical dictionary of the Nagasaki period, a certain Seki Sozaburo studied astronomy in Macao and in Luzon in the Philippines; he stayed with Portuguese Jesuits. This is an instance of a Japanese travelling abroad for

¹ See editio Amstelodami 1683, p. 413.

² See Smith and Mikami, p. 141, and Endo T. *Dai-nihon-sugaku-shi (History of Japanese Mathematics)*, Tokyo, 1896, chap. xviii, p. 18. For the study of the influence of Dutch books on mathematical science in Japan see Cpt. Boxer C. R. T., *Jan. Companie in Japan 1600-1817*, pp. xiv-xv, Hague, 1936.

study, almost unique for the period. Perhaps he was the pupil Van Schooten mentions.¹

When in 1720 the Shogun Yoshimune removed the ban on importing foreign books on astronomy and medicine a new phase in the development of Japanese astronomy was begun, and Western science enjoyed official patronage. Yoshimune invited to his castle in Edo the "Dutch Astronomer" Nishikawa Joken, to prepare a new state calendar.

Later he imposed on Nakane Genkei the task of explaining the principles of European astronomy, and this man is the author of the first book on astronomy written from European sources, under the title *Tenmon-zukwaihakki (Illustrated Astronomy)* (1696). In 1744 the Shogun founded Japan's first astronomical observatory. This was an act of liberalism amazing for the time, and those previously persecuted now worked under the protection of the authorities. The observatory was at first situated in the castle of Tokugawa in Edo, and Nakane Genkei was the first director, and the first who knew the Copernican system (Fig. 1.).

Why was Yoshimune interested in astronomy? Was it due to a great lord's vanity and desire to be a patron of the arts? From records of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki it appears that at the yearly visits of the Dutch trading colony directors the Shogun was accustomed to talk about Western science, and in particular astronomy.

His official counsellor in this field, by name Arai Hakuseki, was well known as *oranda gakusha*, and was especially drawn to astronomy. During the examination of the arrested Jesuit Juan Baptista Sidotti by Arai Hakuseki there was some very unusual questioning about Western science, and all information obtained was published in book form under the title *Sei-yo-no-kibun (Record of the Western World)*.²

On the eve of the eighteenth century there had already appeared a separate group of students of mathematics, astronomy, and

¹ How the Japanese used the Dutch Books Imported from Holland (in the *Nieuw. Arch. voor Wiskunde*, vol. vii, 1905-6, Amsterdam). See also Harzer, P., *Die exacten Wissenschaften in alten Japan* (Jahresbericht der deutschen Mathematiker, Vereinigung Bd. 14, heft 6, 905); also Mikami, Y., *Zur Frage abendlandischer Einflüsse auf die japanische Mathematik am Ende des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, Bd. vii, 3, heft 4.

² See Boxer, *Jan. Compagnie*, p. 53: Yoshimune may have acquired this taste from the celebrated Arai Hakuseki who displayed some interest in European astronomy and other sciences, as a result of his examination of Fr. Sidotti thereon.

medicine, known as *oranda-gakusha*. Some of them did advanced work and specialized, others were interested in all three branches of knowledge. One of them, Nakane Genkei, was the first to practise medicine in Kyoto and to study mathematics and astronomy. His knowledge of astronomy was based both on Dutch books brought to Nagasaki and on Chinese translations of lectures and publications by Jesuit workers in the Imperial Observatory of China, and particularly on the scientific treatises of the Chinese scholar, Mei Wang-Ting (1633-1721), pupil of the Jesuits and one of the greatest Chinese mathematicians. Nakane Genjun, the son of Nakane Genkei, was devoted to mathematics, being trained by his father, and worked with Koike Juken (1683-1754), historian and astronomer from the province of Mito. But the greatest mathematician of all was Seki Kowa (1642-1708), son of the samurai Uchiyame Shichibei. Known as the "Arithmetical Sage" Seki Kowa founded a school of mathematics, where the knowledge of China and Japan was gradually enriched by Western ideas. He was interested chiefly in arithmetic and algebra, and it is not certain whether he was also interested in astronomy. His work on the measurement of circles brought him fame among Japan's mathematicians and aroused great interest among astronomers. Nakane Genkei especially wished to study the theory of circle calculation developed by Seki Kowa in his interpretation of Western astronomy. The years during which Seki Kowa did his most mature scientific work were parallel with the development of mathematical sciences in Europe. Western science, beginning with the introduction of books by Dutch traders, met with an enthusiastic reception and gradually revolutionized traditional Chinese dogmas, until these, with all their religious and scientific implications, entirely gave way before it.

During this period of increasing interest in European science the most marked influence in astronomy was a book by Francois Lalande, *Astronomie*¹; in its Dutch version, *Astronomia of Sterrekunde vertaald door A.B. Straaba, bewerkt onder toezicht van C. Douwes*, 1773-1780. This work was a revelation to the Japanese, as it was already based on the solar system of Copernicus. Takahashi Toko translated it into Japanese, with the help of his son Takahashi Sajuzemon, another astronomer.

Of obvious importance in the development of astronomical

¹ First French ed., Paris, 1711.

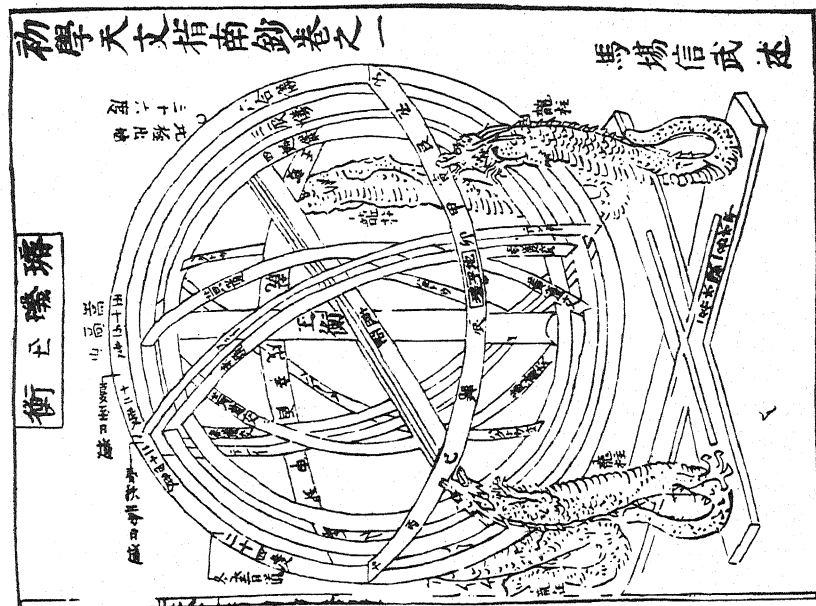


FIG. 2.

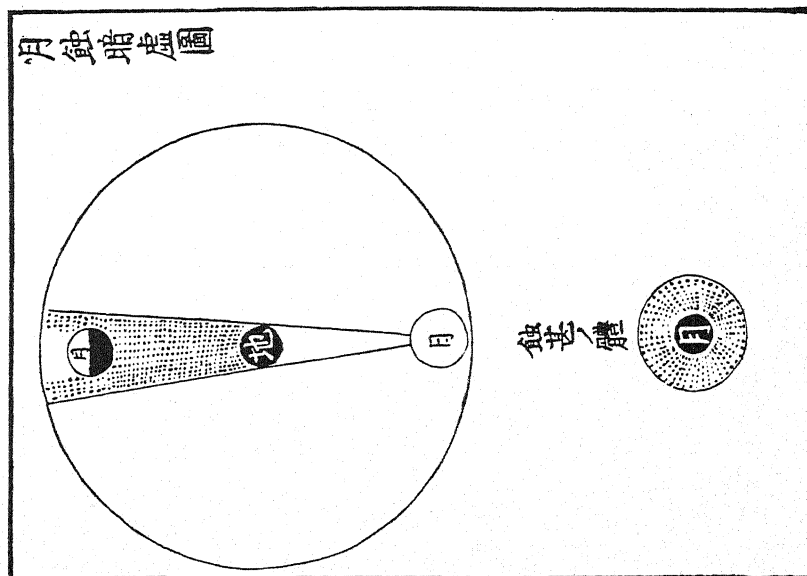


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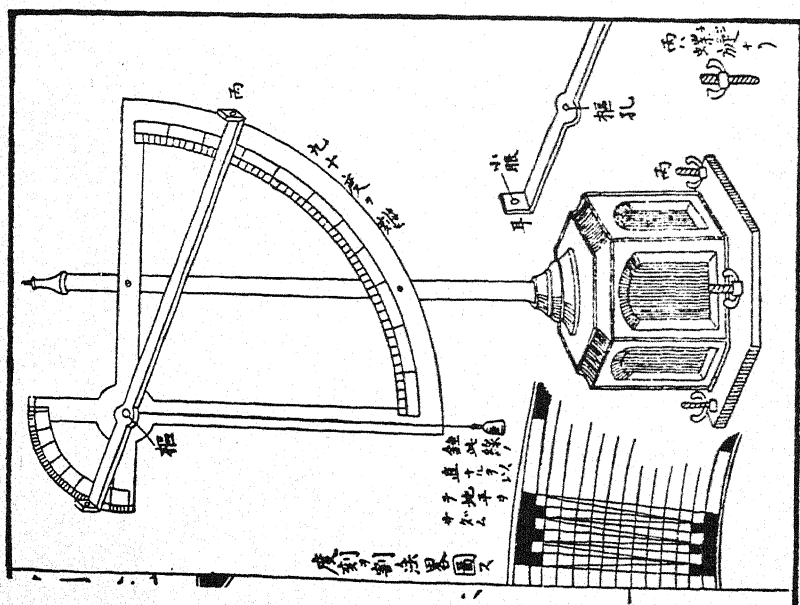


Fig. 3.

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FIG. 4

science was the work of Heills, an Oxford professor, which reached Japan under the title *Inleidinge tot de waare Natuur en sterrekundinge Lessen* (Leiden, 1741). It especially influenced Goritsu Asada (1734-1799) who was later to reform the Japanese calendar. Notable, too, were the lectures and publications of Fr. Pierre Jartoux, whose *Observationes macularum solarium Pekino Missæ* appeared first in Chinese and were translated by Mei Kusheng, even before they appeared in a posthumous French edition under the title *Observations astronomiques* (Paris, 1722). They contributed much to the rise in the standard of astronomical knowledge in Nagasaki and Edo, as can be seen in the work of Takebe, K., Nishikawa Joken, and others.¹

Motoki of Nagasaki was another notable influence. In the third generation of this family Motoki Ryoki was ordered by the Shogun to translate the work *Taniyo-kyuri-ryokai-setsu* (*An illustrated explanation of the solar system*), in which the solar system of Copernicus was explained, along with the movements of the earth. This is a particularly valuable work for historians concerned with the penetration of the Copernican theory into Japan; it has some illustrations unknown to Copernican iconographers in Europe. Motoki published it by order of the authorities, as a standard work for Japanese students, and it became the textbook for the teaching of the heliocentric system of Copernicus. Until now the progress of astronomical knowledge had been unsatisfactory, partly because it was confined to secret and limited circles, and again because based on the Ptolemaic theory, but mainly because there were so many language barriers to the spread of the new knowledge from the West. Here with official approval Motoki Ryoki gives a clear exposition. There is a passage in the introduction—"While hesitating to contradict the Ptolemaic theory, the writer introduces the Copernican theory with official sanction."

Like Motoki, another interpreter of Nagasaki, Shitsuki Tadao, was devoted to science. He translated many Dutch works, of which the most important was *Rekisho-shinsho* (*A New Book of Calendarian Phenomena*), 1803. This translation includes a commentary by John Cairey, one of Newton's followers, a physical astronomer. An interesting feature of Shitsuki's book is the attempt to explain the Copernican theory by comparing the earth with a galloping

¹ See Smith, D. E., and Mikami, Y., *History of Japanese Mathematics*, p. 154 (Chicago, 1914).

horse.¹ Another of these professional interpreters, Nishikawa Joken, who learned astronomy from Dutch maps and books, himself edited a compilation of astronomical knowledge collected from the Chinese and the Dutch. He was afterwards given a post in the Edo observatory.

Early in the eighteenth century Nobutake Baba became well known, particularly through his work *Shogaku-tenmon* (*Elementary Astronomy*), published in 1706, which gained a great contemporary reputation, not only on account of its clear exposition of difficult problems, but chiefly through its explanation of the phenomena of solar eclipses, which in Japan arouse much superstition even among the educated and the professional classes. This Baba believed implicitly in Copernican astronomy, in contrast to the Buddhists, who defended the traditional belief in a fixed earth (Fig. 2).

There was a famous school of astronomy in Osaka, to which belonged Hoashi Banri, Miura Baien, Asada Goritsu, Takahashi Shiji, and Harama Shigetomi. It flourished from the mid-eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Hoashi Banri, Confucian scholar and self-taught interpreter of Dutch, claims in his book on astronomy and mathematics that he himself invented the heliocentric theory and called on his friend Asada Goritsu for confirmation—which, however, he did not receive. His book, a typical example of work by a self-educated man, does show how revolutionary for the older classical scholars of the Far East was solar astronomy. Similarly Yamakata Banto of Osaka discusses the heliocentric theory in his work, *Yume-no-yo* (*The Age of Dreams*), and certain writers of Osaka claimed that he was the first to accept it. Astronomical knowledge rose to a high level in the Japanese capital at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where it was patronized by the Shogun and disseminated by the school of astronomy of Hayashi. Miura Baien, mentioned above, was also interested in Copernican astronomy, but until his death in 1789 he remained a follower of the Ptolemaic theory, and he was the last supporter of this early version of European astronomy, brought in by the first Chinese Jesuits from Peking.

Among the many eighteenth-century Japanese astronomers influenced by European science, there were a few only who had the scientific mentality and ability familiar among Western scholars

¹ Vide Dr. Kuwaki Ayamo, "Western Sciences in the later Tokugawa Period," p. 51, in *Cultural Nippon*, vol. ix, No. 2, 1941.

of this period. There were well-known mathematicians and astronomers like Kurushima, who besides being a scientist was an enthusiastic writer on magic. The Japanese scholars of this period are rather pupils than leaders.

The Buddhist monk Shaku-Entsu, in his book *Bukkoku-rekisho-hen* (*Calendarian phenomena of Buddha's Land*) attacked the Copernican theory as irreconcilable with the teaching of Buddha, and he was opposed by astronomers like Hoashi Banri or Sato-Nobuhiro (1769–1850), author of *Yozo-kaiku-ron* (1801).

One of the greatest astronomers of his age was Shiba Kokan, a man of broad philosophical outlook, a painter, and a scholar. He is a rare phenomenon in the last two hundred years of Japanese history, combining profound knowledge with an unusual talent for exposition, and he was the most notable follower and exponent of the Copernican system. He learned his astronomy from Japanese publications as well as from special study with the Dutch in Nagasaki. At that time the Director of the Dutch factory, Isaac Titsing, maintained many scientific contacts with Japanese scholars, and Shiba Kokan was much appreciated by the learned Dutch director. It is worth mentioning that he introduced into Japanese art the new technique of copperplate engraving, then unknown. His works include :—

1. *Yochi-ryaku-setsu*, Edo, 1892. (An explanation of the positions of the sun and earth.)
2. *Doban-tenkyu-zenshu*, Edo, Tokyo, 1796. Copper engraving of the complete celestial sphere.
3. *Tenmon-chibun-doban-zu* (*Physico-astronomy illustrated*), Edo, 1788. This contains copperplate illustrations and a commentary.
4. *Oranda-tensetsu* (*Dutch astronomy*). Edo, 1796. Fig. 3.
5. *Kopernikus-tenmon-zukai* (Explanation of Copernican astronomy). Edo, 1808.

In the last of these, a richly illustrated book, the author describes the famous astronomer as a professor in the University of Cracow. It should be mentioned here that Copernicus was known in China and Japan to be a Pole, as everywhere until he was claimed by Germany! Shiba Kokan's work is of great importance for the history of astronomy in China and Japan.

Another family which produced great astronomers was the Takahashi. Takahashi Sakuzæmon (1764–1804) was astronomer in the Edo observatory and he reformed the calendar; Takahashi

Sakuzæmon Yoshitoki (1783-1828), his son, had wide knowledge of Dutch and Russian and was a first-class astronomer by European standards.

We mentioned before that the Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan taught the Ptolemaic and Aristotelian theories. After the expulsion of the missionaries in 1616 Chinese books from Pekin, written by pupils of the Jesuits, still found their way into Japan, bringing news of developments in astronomy. From the end of the seventeenth century onwards the Jesuits in China were already using the Copernican system, and the new Chinese publications found their way into Japan.

One of the first Jesuit missionaries who emphasized the need for change from the Ptolemaic astronomy was the Polish Jesuit Michal Polak, from Pekin, known by the Portuguese name of Fr. Miguel Polacco. It was he who introduced to the Far East the Rudolphinian Tables published by Keppler, the great exponent of the heliocentric theory. In the Jesuit library in Pekin, Pei-t'hang, these *Tabulæ Rudolphinæ* are still preserved with a manuscript inscription which runs as follows: "For the attention of the Fr. Procurator. Fr. Miguel Polacco humbly requests that his paternal Highness should keep this book, the *Tabulæ Rudolphinæ* in his Procuratory, and if either Fr. Miguel Polacco or Fr. Jean Nicholas of China should ask for it, he should yield it up to them, and if both should die, that it should belong to Pekin, since it is unique, and of inestimable value in calculating partial and complete solar eclipses, together with celestial movements. Macao, December, 1646."

It is noteworthy that the astronomical theories of Copernicus should have been made known in the Far East by a Polish Jesuit. It reflects the high level of astronomical science at the time when Copernicus was in Cracow at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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An Undescribed Malay Version of the Ramayana

By R. O. WINSTEDT

THERE are several recensions of the *Hikayat Seri Rama* or Malay Ramayana. There are three folk-versions: *Seri Rama* of Sumatran origin, edited with an outline in English by W. E. Maxwell (*JRAS. Straits Branch*, 17, 1886); *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana*, by H. Overbeck (*JRAS. Malayan Branch*, xi, pt. ii, 1933); and a Patani version, of which an outline was given by me in the Royal Batavian Society's *Feestbundel*, Batavia, 1929. Of literary recensions the best known are Archbishop Laud's text in the Bodleian, ed. W. G. Shellabear (*JRAS. Straits Branch*, 71, 1915, with outline, *ibid.*, 70, 1917) = Sh. in this article, and that printed by Roorda van Eysinga (Amsterdam, 1843) = Ro. in this article. The last two have been compared by A. Zeiseniss in his *Die Rāma-Sage bei den Malaïen* (Hamburg, 1928), which has a fairly complete bibliography except for the folk-tale versions. But beyond a few lines in van der Tuuk's catalogue (reprinted in *Essays on Indochina*, 2nd series, vol. ii) nothing has been written of Raffles Malay MS. 22 in the Library of this Society, which for various reasons is of unique interest. Throughout my description I retain the Malay forms for Sanskrit words.

(a) The MS. contains 32 pages of matter preliminary to the commencement of the Bodleian MS. edited by Shellabear, and 127 pages preliminary to the contents of Roorda van Eysinga's text. These are outlined below.

(b) Unlike other texts it refers to numbered chapters, presumably of an unknown original, e.g.

(I) On p. 127 the Malay runs, "Now is told the Fifth tale," which corresponds to Ro. pp. 2-20, Sh. 51-62 (Ziesenis, § 2). Its contents are identical with Ro., containing episodes omitted by Sh., i.e. the human cry of the deer to Dasarata not to kill the beasts of the jungle (p. 136); Maharisi Derma (Berma Ro.) Dewa's advice to him to slay 1,000 elephants so that he may beget four sons and a daughter; the curse of the blind hermit Begawan Bikrama Dewa on Dasarata for accidentally killing his son who had fallen into a well; Ravana's disguise as a Brahman (p. 142) for his visit to Dasarata's palace; the names of Kisubrisu's three sons; the prophecy that Ravana's son-in-law shall slay him

(p. 153); the omission of the two jewels from Sita's chest (p. 155) which Sh.'s MS. puts in it; the trip of Princess Skanda Māi to the island Indra Puspa Wānam; the inclusion of Ravana among the competitors for Sita's hand. As in Ro. Dasarata makes Berdan his heir before Sri Rama shocks the court by shooting arrows at his mother's hunch-back slave: Sh. puts the latter episode before the selection of Berdan.

(II) There is no mention of a Sixth Tale, but the MS. follows the two known classical texts. Pages 178-180 of the MS. gives a longer version than Ro.'s, p. 30. Then like Sh. (p. 68), but unlike Ro., the MS. (p. 180) introduces Gagak Suri, who has fouled Maharisi Kali's two wells and is pursued by Sri Rama's arrow and forced to submit. The passage where Maharisi Kali hides Sita in the temple is verbally close to Sh., not to Ro., and as in Sh. Sita's defence of Sri Rama's behaviour is omitted. As in Sh. Sri Rama and Sita are taken in procession round the city seven times—but after 40 (not 14) days' celebration. As in Sh. Sri Rama receives no advice from his bride's mother on parting. The four princes who waylay Sri Rama are Lu, Mahraba (Sh. Mahrana), Lupadang (Sh. Lupedang), Jangman (جشن = Sh. چشن Changmi). Sri Rama awaits the attack of Puspa Rama. His parents long for his return.

(III) Then on p. 190 "is told the Sixth Tale", viz. of Gautama (Ro. pp. 75-8) and of the revelation of Dewa Indra's infidelity by her legitimate daughter Dewi Anjani, of the turning of Balia and Sugriva into apes, of Balia's friendship with Samburana, and of her mother's curse that puts Dewi Anjani to stand for 100 years with mouth agape on a needle in mid-ocean. The episode is not in Sh. Nor is it in this place in Ro.

(IV) Next "is told the Seventh Tale" (p. 195) where Ro.'s text (p. 78) merely says, "Now comes the story," i.e. of the miraculous impregnation of Dewi Anjani by Sri Rama (when he was Visnu) with the aid of Raja Bayu Bata. Sri Rama and Sita are not transformed into monkeys as in Sh. nor is Hanuman born, as in Sh., of an embryo vomited by Sita. Like Ro., the MS. tells how Hanuman mistook the sun for fruit, was killed by its rays, and at the demand of Sang Perdana was restored by the sun and taught the arts of war, after which Hanuman returns to his mother.

(V) The next tale to be mentioned is the "Ninth" (p. 201). Sri Rama kills Berma Raja and sends his corpse to his father

Maharaja Shin. who swears eternal enmity. Sri Rama, Sita, and Laksamana wander up to a river, where one of Sri Rama's arrows becomes a bridge. He kills Raksasas and is waylaid by Puspa Rama, lord of lightning, in the forest P.rkin.. In spite of Dasarata's hurried warning Sri Rama fights him. Puspa Rama recognizes him as an incarnation of Visnu and does obeisance (p. 211).

Reaching Mandupura Nagara, Sri Rama is greeted by Mandudari. Owing to a promise made to Balya-dari Dasarata bequeaths his throne to Berdan. When Sri Rama, Sita, and Laksamana have left Dasarata dies. Sri Rama will not return for the obsequies.

He and his party reach a spot where the hermit Maharisi Anggasa welcomes them (Ro. 53-9, Sh. 74-9). They pass on to the forest Chandra Puspa. An arrow from Sri Rama's bow Gandi-wati forms a bridge (p. 225). They meet Kikukan and his wife Mai rani suri and hear a tale of a seal found in a fish (pp. 227-8). They meet Wirata Sakti, who as in Ro. gives Rama a *suksh.ni* (p. 232) = *sa'usāni*. Sri Rama shoots the demon Purba who would carry off Sita to Ravana. In the forest Indra Pawanam Sri Rama's prayers create seven maids and five pages out of bundles of grass.

(VI) The "Twelfth Tale" (p. 246; Ro. 63-75) is of Ravana and Valin (Balía).

(VII) The "Thirteenth Tale" (p. 255; Ro. 68-75) is, like the Twelfth, omitted in Sh. It tells how Nila cakrū recovered Mandudari from Balía and restored her to Ravana, and how he created Dewi Berma Komala to be the bride of Balía.

(VIII) On p. 270 (last line) the MS., having already told the tale of Dewi Anjani's adultery—it comes here in Ro. p. 74—proceeds to tell (Ro. p. 81) how Ravana summoned his sons and relatives to advise him how to revenge himself on Balía for the rape of Mandudari. Scorning the anger of Nila cakrū, her rescuer, Kumbakarna harries the maharisis as he hurries to punish Balía, is lost in the forest and returns shamed to Ravana. This episode does not occur in Sh.

(IX) The "Fifteenth Tale" (p. 277; Ro. 85-9, Sh. 80-2) tells how Laksamana got his sword T.m.ndra-wali as it was descending from the sky, a gift from Batara Indra for Darasinga, who was practising austerities in a bamboo-clump. Trying the blade on the bamboos, he kills the ascetic. Surpanakha mourning his death tries to seduce Sri Rama and then Laksamana. On Sri Rama's order Laksamana marries her. Ro. pp. 89-93 are neither in this MS. nor in Sh.

(X) The "Sixteenth Tale" (p. 304) tells the story of Valin and the Buffalo (Ro. pp. 104-7, Sh. 88-92).

(XI) The "Eighteenth Tale" (p. 310 ; Sh. 92-4) tells of the quest for Sita, the blinding of the bird with four wives, the lengthening of the neck of the heron who divulges that he has seen Ravana carry off a beautiful woman. Weary they sleep under a tamarind tree. Hanuman sits in its branches and from his earrings is recognized by Sri Rama as his son.

Then comes the tale of the death of Jatayus (Ro. pp. 102-4, Sh. pp. 94-5).

Rama and Laksamana meet Dati. Janggala.

Beyond this point the MS. remains to be examined. But (XI) The "Nineteenth Tale" (p. 371) begins with the death of Mandudari.

(XII) The "Twentieth Tale" (p. 391) begins with Nilabat (نیلابت) being sent by his mother in quest of his father Samburana to Mount Gandara Wanam.

(XIII) The "Twenty-first Tale" (p. 475) begins by relating how after Hanuman had burnt Langkapuri, Ravana followed him into Sri Rama's company in the guise of an old bearded hermit.

The MS. ends with the story of Hanuman's seduction of his charge, Princess Sandari Dewi ; of the fight between Batalawi (*sic*) and Hanuman ; of Batalawi's reluctant forgiveness of his bride, and of his just rule over Duryapuri negara.

Then comes a colophon peculiar to this text, and written with the sentimental abandon of the colophon to the Panji tale, quoted in my *History of Malay Literature*. Its style, therefore, marks it as a work of the fifteenth century. But the translator or copyist defers to the new religion of Islam and to the contemporary taste for mysticism. "Sit still," he enjoins, "in one spot to enjoy the delightful repast of reading this book. In quiet and patience are to be found the evidence for the unseen God. Were one to behold Him, one's eyes would be blinded, but do not say He is hidden, because He is verily apparent. Wishing will not lead you to Him but absorption in the four '*ilmu*' (? grades of mysticism) where all things are lost, to be found in the recitation and interpretation of the Quran."

(c) Raffles MS. 22 often corrects the known texts, e.g. the cry of the barking deer (p. 136) Jangan apa-lah engkau membinasakan segala isi rimba ini karna dari-pada tulang belakang-mu itu jadi

anak laki-laki : ia-lah kelak membinasakan isi rimba itu corrects the same passage on Ro. p. 6, and Kembali-lah dengan takut-nya dan sopan-nya dan kebaktian-nya akan Sri Rama dan Laksamana sa-lama-lama-nya hidup (p. 185) corrects Sh. p. 73 : Kembali-lah dengan takut-nya dan kebaktian-nya semua hendak. On p. 185 also Sh.'s kemaluan (p. 73, l. 24) is corrected into ka-mana. On pp. 196, 202 Ro.'s mengan anting-anting (pp. 78, 81) becomes mengenal anting-anting and properly a negative is inserted before tahu (Ro. p. 80, l. 2). Sh. (p. 66) reads di-panah oleh Sri Rama kena mata-kaki-nya lalu terus ka-pinggang-nya ; Ro. (p. 26) changes "ankle" into "flank" (lombong), but Raffles MS. (p. 163) reads متکین (? = mata kiri-nya "left eye")—variants that show the need to collate all the texts. Sēmah (p. 249, l. 2) corrects Ro.'s sēmbah (p. 65, l. 18), and berentak-rentak (p. 253, l. 12) corrects Ro.'s bertapak-tapak (p. 67, l. 21).

(d) Raffles MS. 22 does not always conserve readings as old and correct as those in Sh., e.g. on p. 130 we get sa-orang perempuan dudok di-atas geta dengan perhiasan-nya, "a princess sat on a decorated dais," being nearly identical with Ro. p. 3, whereas Sh. p. 74 is obviously correct : sa-orang puteri dudok di-atas parasan buloh itu, i.e. "a princess sat on the butt of the topped bamboo". Only Sh. preserves the old word gērētan for Dasarata's processional car. But the transcription of names and obsolete words, e.g. hamum, paradēsi, widam, p.roh.ta (= purohita "high priest") prove that this MS. was carefully copied from some MS. whose source went back to days before Islam dominated Malay intellectual life.

(e) It contains (pp. 102-5) an episode and scattered passages that do not occur in the two classical texts.

(f) Though the order of some episodes is different from that in those texts, yet its close identity with the contents of one or other of those texts goes to show that all are derived from some older version of the Ramayana, the common source of all three. Frequently correcting the other two verbally, the MS. may more nearly represent that source than either.

(g) The ending -amma (?) in names and the form vānam = vahanam = ? chariot appear to suggest a Dravidian, possibly Tamil source. Like the other texts this is no copy of Valmiki's work. Yibhīsana's marriage and Rāvana's assumption of the part of a musician, for example, do not occur in Valmiki.

The MS. consists of 723 folio pages (11½ in. by 7 in.) and is written partly on paper bearing the water-mark 1814 and the initial G.S., and partly on paper with the water-mark Beauvais.

The story starts abruptly and apparently in the middle of a narrative. "This is the tale of si-Ranchak how he was hunting, and when he met . . ., he said, "G.r.ndi.vamma (گرندي واما) and Sura M.nak.h (سورا مناکه), I si-Ranchak am your relative and I have come in quest of you." They ask him why his golden skin and moon-fair face are now half white and half black and why his ten heads have lost their crowns. He replies by inquiring why S.m.ndih.ma (سمندیما) is not with them after descent to earth? They decide to go to Brahma Raja in search of their missing comrade, and on the way come to a mountain where have been living all the Maharisis and Brahmans. The Maharisis find in their books of divination that one, Ravana, is descending to earth and will destroy their homesteads. One named Kisna Chendera (کسنا چندرا) remarks that it has also been said Bisnu (Visnu) will slay Ravana: Visnu lives on Mt. Puspa Begerma (بکرم) near Mt. Mahameru, and is incarnate in a whilom prince, who gave up his throne to become a saintly ascetic (begawan) named Raman (رامن), and now lives on Mt. Saganda Mali (مالی alias فرومالي), waited upon by a hunch-back and a dwarf (chabul). The Maharisis flee and find Raman, who bids them live at the foot of his mountain and warn him of the approach of Ravana. Si-Ranchak changes his name to Maharaja Genta-sura, and G.r.ndivamma becomes Maharaja Bujangga (Sura), and M.nak.h calls herself Dewi Sura-gandi. These three Raksasas pursue the Maharisis to Raman's mountain (now called Indra-kila Begerma). All the great Risis and Yogis and nuns and disciples anchorites and hermits (Maharisi dan mahayogi dan indang-indang peputut ubun-ubun perbujangga) flee up the mountain to Begawan Raman. The three Raksasas shake the mountain as one shakes a tree. Begawan Raman sends his hunch-back and his dwarf to fight them. There is a battle of stones and rocks and mountains hurled between the foes. Then chagrined that they cannot beat a dwarf and a hunch-back, Maharaja Genta-sura decides to perform penance for twelve years. But first the three Raksasas hurl a great mountain against an ivory hall in the middle of the mountain lake only

to see it splinter into pieces that become flowers and lilies. Maharaja Genta-sura says that after twelve years they will resume their shapes with the king of Indrapura, and سمن دیوما (S.n.m.dew.ma) will do so too, though at present he is serving Visnu.

Visnu was doing penance on Mt. Indra Begerma along with Naga Puspa Pertala Seganda Dewa and a Golden Peacock and Batara Kisna Dewa. Kisna begs Visnu to change into a great worldly ruler whom all kings shall follow, and so to steal a march on Ravana before he takes human shape and gets adherents. But Visnu replies that all the dewa zanggi and three score of rasi muni have taken human shape to follow Ravana. After Visnu had done penance for two years Kisna offers him seven arrows brought at midnight by a dewa as a present from Batara Guru. But Visnu has three arrows of his own. So Kisna carries off his arrows in the form of flowers with which he plays.

After si-Ranchak had done penance for twelve years, Dewa Adi Brama brought him three arrows that on piercing a body sprouted into leafy trees.

Now in Indrapura was a fire-born prince Brama Raja descended from Raja Batara Brahmana with a fire-born consort Brama Dewi by whom he had seven sons, Badanil (بدنیل), Chitra Baha (چترا بها), Jamu Mantri (جامو منتری), Mantri شکنا (? Shakna), Sardala (سر دال), K.mndak.t), and Naruna (نارون). One day a musician مهاتندي (M.hat.m.ndi) from بیہوس فراوا (alias فراوارا) Bīruhāshā Pūrwā, the land of the raksasa, called Maharaja Datia Kuacha, comes to play outside the palace at Indrapura. He relates how wandering in the forest گندھوی (G.nd.hui) he had sat playing by a clear stream when a Raksasa had frightened him, a mortal, into being carried off to the far kingdom of Maharaja Datia Kuacha. He agrees to guide Chitra Baha, who sets off to conquer this Raksasa kingdom with war elephants and kuda sembrani yang berbaju zirah besi Khersani and a skilled captain Nila-Surantaka (نیلا سرتال). Though the Raksasa hurl rocks at them, they fight their way to the top (*nağara*) of their frontier mountain. Nila Surantaka and Mantri Parwa-Gandi (پروا گندی) capture a Raksasa Nala-Gandi (نال گندی). Brahma-Gandi., leader of the Raksasa frontier troops, flees back the three months' journey to the capital. Chitra-Baha kills Maharaja

Datia Kuacha with an arrow, subdues his country, and carries off his daughter Raksa-Gandi. and his riches. Raksa-Gandi. is pregnant for twenty years, whereupon Chitra-Baha consults a Maharisi Anggas Parwa (اڠكس قروا) who says that after 100 years she will bear a son destined to greatness. Summoned after the birth the Maharisi advises the parents that at the age of 16 their son will be separated from them to rule over four worlds. He is named Ravana. When he is 12 years old, he kills all his playmates with his ten heads and twenty feet and hands, and is banished to Mt. Serendib. There he plucks three lily plants heavy with gems. These gems he gives to the crew of his ship. The three plants he sends for his parents to eat, saying that his mother will bear two more sons and a daughter, and that unless she sends them to him his parents will die.

The story then (p. 32) continues as in Archbishop Laud's Bodleian MS., edited by Shellabear (= Sh.), and Nabi Adam visits Ravana while he is doing penance.

This Raffles MS. explains the broken beginning of the Bodleian MS. Chitra-Baha is apologizing to his father for the youthful ferocity of Ravana and accepting the decision that the child be banished. He says: "Ya tuanku shah 'alam, jangankan saperti Rawana yang sa-gempal darah itu, jikalau ada lagi sa-ribu kian sa-kali pun, jikalau di-kehendaki oleh shah 'alam, patêk persembahkan juga ka-bawah duli shah 'alam; lamun jangan juga binasa nama dan warta Seri Maharaja segala 'alam dunia ini, senang -lah hati patêk: selang nyawa lagi di-dalam hukum tuanku dan apa jua bichara shah 'alam, dan hamba serahkan-lah ka-bawah duli cherpu shah 'alam, dan baik-lah dengan nama yang baik, jangan hidup dengan nama yang jahat, karna dunia ini tiada akan kekal sa-orang juga, dan akan sunggoh sakalian lagi akan binasa juga. Lamun sempurna juga negeri dan kerajaan dan nama duli yang di-pertuan, sukachita-lah hati patêk." Sa-telah baginda menengar sembah anakanda demikian itu, maka terlalu sukachita hati-nya. Maka pada ketika itu juga Rawana di-bawa oleh Chitra-Baha naik ka-perahu.

Then Chitra-Baha comforts his wife with the future greatness of their son and Rawana reaches Mt. Serandib and plucks the three lily plants and gives the crew the message to his parents, who obey and eat them. Then the MS. continues:—

Sa-bermula. Ada pun akan Rawana itu pun lalu ia berjalan

berkeliling pulau itu. Maka di-lihat-nya suatu pun tiada buah-buahan yang dapat di-makan-nya. Maka lalu ia naik ka-atas bukit Serendib itu. Maka Rawana pun fikir dalam hati-nya, "Baik-lah aku bertapa di-pulau ini barang dua-belas tahun lama-nya." Sa-telah ia sudah berfikir-fikir demikian, maka lalu di-ambil-nya tiga batang kayu yang besar-besar. Maka yang dua batang itu pun di-dirikan-nya dan yang sa-batang itu pun di-letakkan-nya kapada kayu itu yang dua batang itu, melintang itu. Maka apa-bila hari petang maka Rawana pun naik-lah di-atas kayu yang di-dirikan itu, maka di-tiup-nya-lah api di-bawah kayu itu, maka lalu di-ikat-nya kaki-nya dengan tali ka-pada kayu yang melintang itu lalu ia bergantung kepala-nya ka-bawah, kaki-nya ka-atas, dan apa-bila terbit matahari, maka ia pun turun-lah dari atas kayu itu lalu pergi mengambil kayu api, di-timbunkan-nya di-bawah kayu melintang itu. Apa-bila masok matahari, maka di-jadikan-nya api di-bawah kayu melintang itu : sa-telah jadi-lah api itu, maka ia pun lalu mengikat kaki-nya ka-pada kayu yang melintang itu, maka di-tunggangkan-nya kepala-nya ka-bawah. Demikian-lah hal-nya dan sakit-nya bertapa di-pulau itu dengan tiada makan dan tiada minum.

This short extract may be compared with the identical passage in the Bodleian Malayo-Arabic text (Sh.) or with the same passage romanized in *A Malay Reader*, by R. O. Winstedt and C. O. Blagden (Oxford, 1917, pp. 119-122), when the liberties taken by the copyist of Raffles Malay MS. 22 with a text verbally older will be apparent. The Raffles MS. then follows Sh. in its matter, but makes Indrajit's mother not Nila Utama but Rani Dewi Nila Kesoma of the land Tinjau Maya Purwa (تيجو ماي فراوا). By Pertewi of the earth he has a son Pertala Maharayan ; by Gangga Mahadewi, a son Gangga Mahasura. Ravana ruled all the word except Beranta Taman, which belonged to Dasarata Chakra-wati, Biruhasha (بهرهوش) purwa ruled by Balikasha (بالقش), Lagur Katagina (= Kiskindha *Skt.*) ruled by Balia, and Isfaha (Boga) ruled by Dasarata Maharaja. Ravana founded (Eng-)Langka-puri at Serendib.

Berma Raja, king of Indra Puri Negara, is succeeded by his first-born, Badanul, who has two sons Perdana Warna and Sura-Kerma (Sh. Germa). Perdana Warna (Sh. Sura-Germa) marries Dewi ميك (Sh. ميك) daughter of Jama Mantri ; Sura-Kerma (Sh.

جاو Kerma) marries Dewi Kemala Ratna daughter of Naran. Perdana Mantri refused the throne of Anta Pura Indra Mandura (مندور) but Sura-Kerma accepted Asta Pura. Sh. makes Sura-Germa ruler of Sentana (ستان) Pura and جاو Kerma ruler of سندکفورا. Chitra-Baha succeeds Badanul and has two sons Kumbakarna and Bibusenam and a girl Sura-Pandaki. Bibusenam marries Mertawal. (مرت وال) Dewi daughter of Naran, and rules Pura. Kumbakarna rules alone on Mt. Keleburan Gangsa. Sura-Pandaki weds Berga Singa, son of a Raksasa, and her aunt Raksa-Gandi (Sh. Raksha-Ganda). The Raffles MS. curtails the account in Shellabear's text of Kumbakarna's gluttony and of his sleeping and playing in a cave. Naran succeeds Chitra-Baha, as Jama Mantri declines the throne. Naran has a son Berma-Sura who marries Dewi Gandi Persina (فرسين), daughter of Sardula, and rules Jaya Pura. Naran dying, Jama Mantri again declines the throne and installs his own younger brother Shaksha (= *Skt.* Sukesha). Shaksha had two sons, Jara (Sh. Chitra) Nantaka and Darma Nantaka. Jara Nantaka married Seganda Dewi, daughter of Sardula and ruled K.sta (Sh. Pasta); Darma Nantaka married Lela Warna daughter of K.m.ndak.t and ruled Mertewi (Sh. Merduwangsa).

After being pregnant seventeen years Raksa Gandi Pertewi, youngest wife of Datia Kuacha, bears a son. The wife of the fugitive Brahma Gandhi also bears a son, whose suckling kills her. Rescuing the dangerous child from his father's wrath Raksa Gandi Pertewi summons Maharisi Seganda Rani. Witha گندري گرتري (g.nd.ri.g.r.t.ri.) slung from his neck and a retinue of pupils, he comes and gives the name of Balikasha to her son and that of سقا Sang Jēlēma to her adopted son, who consumes daily twenty jars of buffalo milk, twenty of cow's milk, and twenty of camel's milk and grows seven poisonous shrubs on his tongue, so that even to lick his footsteps after four or five days' absence will cause death. Balikasha would exact vengeance for Datia Kuacha on the people of Indra Pura Negara. Sang Jelma goes there as a spy to see the ruler's state: his raja-raja dan manteri sida-sida bentara kasteria biaperi cheteria فرنادم (= p.rnad.m or ? p.rpad.m) kebiri dan segala ra'ayat. Licking their foot-prints he kills four mantri and eight captains. Shaksha demands where was the Temenggong's watch that they

did not look out for foreigners bringing tribute : maka tiada diperēksaī (Sh. di-tatap-nya) kalau ada juga orang فرديسي (Sh. فرديشي : *paradesi* "foreigners") datang ka-negeri kita ini membawa fitnah. Two Maharisi, Anggasta (= *Skt.* Agastya) and Tilawi (Sh. Tabalawi), revive them. Two captains, Ganda-madana and Sang Winata (*Skt.* Vinata), fail to capture Sang Jelma. Shaksha's two relatives, Sardala and K.m.ndak.t then set out, while Kumbakarna still sleeps in his cave. (Bibusenam consults Maharisi Anggas(ta) (اڠگس) Parwa and is told Visnu will slay Ravana.) Shaksha's forces fail (p. 79) and Kumbakarna and Bibusenam come to their fort (kota gerugul, p. 83) to help them. Begawan Ram.s. (رامس) tells Ravana of the war. Ravana and his sons set out to make peace. Shaksha entertains him with a feast, at which there is a song called "The elephant raises his trunk". Peace is made.

Then (pp. 102-5) comes an indelicate episode missing, so far as I have noticed, from the other two classical texts. His wife Seganda Maya Wati rebukes Ravana for boasting of his greatness. He cannot even prevent two sparrows from making love in their presence. And when his wife threatens them that unless they stop, Dasarata Chakrawati will cut off their heads, they are still recalcitrant, whereupon a discus descends from heaven and decapitates them. In anger Ravana sends two envoys, Kala Wisa Paksa (کال ويس فکس) and Kala S.r.nggi. (سرنگي) to Beranta Taman to demand the presence of Dasarata. The palace-gate is guarded by an old man, Begawan Nila Purba, brother of (1) Begawan Gautama (گتام) grandsire of Hanuman, (2) of Begawan Perna Rata P.rsi. (فرن رات فرسي), whose breath blows them away 7 yojana. He takes them to Dasarata, whom they find eating diamonds like rice. Dasarata tells them his grandson Sri Rama shall worst Ravana (p. 110), and giving them four diamonds bids them tell Ravana he is invited for a visit as soon as he has eaten them ! The meaning is that if Ravana can eat diamonds, then only can he attack Dasarata. Ravana summons his three sons and sets out to Beranta Taman. Dasarata gives him sixty goats (or warriors in disguise) who butt and kill Ravana's soldiers until he has to ask for their goat-herd to collect them. Dasarata sends a boy hunchback who controls the

herd by bidding them in Dasarata's name to come to him, but he declares he cannot take back to Dasarata his present. The boy says to them in his own language "Ho *كَالَ فَرْدَيْتِي* go to Ravana's country and destroy his people and then return." This they do. Ravana wants to put away his wife, now called *سُوْحَن* Seganda, who for her part longs to go into seclusion on the island Indra Puspa Wanam (*وانم*).

"Now we come to the Fifth Tale" (Tersebut-lah perkataan cheritra yang kelima), p. 127, which is the beginning of Ro.'s text and of the contents analysed in (b) above.

The MS. contains (p. 253) one attempt at a quatrain that is not found in the other texts :—

Berapa r.m.b.n di-pinggan,
 Masa sama r.m.b.n-nya padi ?
 Berapa rindu yang tinggal
 Masa sama rindu yang pergi ?

It limps like those in the fifteenth century Sejarah Melayu. The MS. often refers to characters reciting seloka which though translated into less pointed Malay prose cause laughter as in the Indian original.

The Jewish "Blessing of Virginity"

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

IN October, 1933, I contributed a lengthy article to this *Journal* entitled "Maimonides on Listening to Music" in which I gave a translation of the *Responsum* 129 from his *Pe'er ha-dor* (Lemberg, 1849), in so far as it touched upon listening to music. The latter portion of this *responsum* dealt with another point, a custom, the "Blessing of Virginity", which took place at the house of a bridegroom. It might have been intended as a religious ceremony (so far as the Seven Benedictions are concerned, although they should have waited until after the actual wedding), but I have been unable to trace the provenance of the custom. Here is the request together with the response of Maimonides:—

Request: "Please instruct us about the so-called 'Blessing of Virginity' which runs '[Blessed art thou] who in Eden didst plant the Nut-tree'. For [there is a custom for] a company consisting of the wedding party of the bride and bridegroom and their friends to assemble in the bridegroom's house, [when] a celebrant takes a wine-cup, pronounces the customary Benediction over wine, and the Benediction over spices, and then he pronounces this so-called, i.e. new-fangled Benediction—'Blessed art thou. . .'. And note that this new-fangled Benediction fixed by our Rabbis in the *Talmud* also contains the Divine Name, i.e. 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who . . . Blessed art Thou O Lord . . .'. Please tell us whether the recital of the Benediction is merely a custom or actually orthodox and obligatory. Similarly, they follow up this Benediction by reciting the Seven Benedictions for a marriage feast, even when there is no feast yet, [since the marriage has not yet taken place] and even without the excuse whereby, after a marriage feast, for seven days, are we permitted the recital of the Seven Benedictions at any feast at which the newly wed couple are present, providing new faces [of friends] are to be seen at these feasts."

Response [by Maimonides]: "As to the so-called 'Blessing of Virginity', it is a heinous sin, a using of the Divine Name in vain.

It is a disgrace. I do not know why it was composed, nor why they associated with it the idea of Sanctification, or called it the 'Sanctification of Virginity'. You could not find a more disgraceful thing than this. Let no rational man associate himself with such a company."

I have been through innumerable books on the customs of Oriental Jews without finding any reference to this practice, and it has been suggested to me that, far from it being part of a semi-religious ceremony, it was merely a piece of buffoonery (not unknown in non-Jewish circles) which had crept into what was originally a more serious and honoured custom.

Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi

By R. BURN AND PATRICK CADELL

THE chivalrous spirit that has moved Mr. Kincaid to make his defence of the Rani of Jhansi (*Journal*, 1943, p. 100) will be appreciated. Chivalry, however, is not sufficient reason for the reversal of an opinion generally recorded by historians. Mr. Kincaid seeks to show that the Rani was not a rebel and had nothing to do with the massacre of the English at Jhansi in the Mutiny of 1857. In arriving at this conclusion he relies on a letter written in 1839 by a Mr. Martin to the adopted son of the Rani, which states that he was saved from the massacre by the Rani, and asserts that she had nothing to do with it and actually supplied food to the garrison before their surrender. Mr. Kincaid accepts this statement as reliable and dismisses as based on hearsay the evidence of the official narrative compiled by Captain Pinkney in November, 1858. Mr. Martin's name does not occur in any of the reports to which we have access, and before accepting his assertion about the Rani's actions it would be desirable to know more about him. It is curious that he was not with his compatriots in the fort. As his letter states that he took messages from the Rani to officials he was perhaps in her service. On one point he is not borne out by the official narrative. Mr. Martin says that the Rani also saved another Englishman and a lady. The official narrative states that a Mrs. Mutlow concealed herself in the town disguised as an Indian, and that a Mr. Crawford left the fort on the night of 7th June and made his way to Samthar. In neither case does the Rani appear to have given any help.

The general correctness of the *Official Mutiny Narratives* has been accepted by historians, and additional confirmation has just come to our notice. Charles Raikes, a Judge of the principal court at Agra, was there during the Mutiny, was afterwards Civil Commissioner with Lord Clyde, and was the author of a notably trustworthy book on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces. A copy of the official Mutiny Narratives was sent to him in 1860 by the Lieutenant-Governor for examination and comment, and he had special knowledge of Bundelkhand, the area in which Jhansi is situated. In his notes he makes no remark on the portion of

the Jhansi narrative dealing with the Rani's complicity in the rebellion, but he writes that Mrs. Mutlow was actually examined by him at Agra after the recovery of Jhansi, and that the paragraph describing the massacre and the escape of two persons is based on her statement.

The three specialist historians of the Mutiny, Kaye, Malleeson, and Forrest, the first two certainly sympathetic regarding the Rani's alleged grievances, have no doubt about her share in the Mutiny. Mr. Kincaid does not mention that the Rani's father was regarded as a principal instigator of the rising, if not of the massacre, and was hanged on this charge. As regards the actual massacre Kaye writes :—

“Whether the Ranee instigated the atrocity or to what extent she was implicated can never be known.” Malleeson, however (writing as noted, with some sympathy for the Rani) and Forrest have no doubt as to her complicity. Several incidents confirm this judgment. Her men helped the mutineers to open the jail and release the prisoners, to burn the government offices and some of the bungalows, and to kill all the government servants they could find in the city. Her men joined in the attack on the fort, and when the mutineers drew off at night it was the Rani's force which kept guard outside. Next morning when Captain Skene, who was Superintendent of three districts, roughly a Commissioner's charge (not a Police Superintendent as Mr. Kincaid says), sent three officials to seek her protection, they were met by the Rani's armed men, taken to the palace, and sent by her orders to the mutineers, who put them to death.¹ Another official who left the fort was seized and killed by the Rani's men at the palace door. That evening the Rani gave some guns for use against the fort. It was also ascertained that the Rani signed the paper guaranteeing safety when the little garrison surrendered.

In most places the mutinous sepoy after plundering treasuries and looting houses left immediately and made for Delhi or Lucknow as quickly as possible. When they lingered in the vicinity it was almost invariably owing to the persuasion of some local chief who wanted their assistance, as happened at Cawnpore where the sepoy stayed to help the Nana. At Orai adjoining Jhansi on the north and at Lalitpur immediately to the south the Europeans were saved

¹ This contradicts Mr. Kincaid's statement that they were intercepted by the mutineers.

by local chiefs who persuaded the mutineers to let them go ; and the Ranis of Chatarpur and Ajaigarh in the neighbourhood also helped fugitives to escape. The Commissioner of Jubbulpore in whose charge Jhansi was then included had no doubt that the Rani was responsible.

Another argument of Mr. Kincaid's rests on the Rani's personality and intelligence and he describes her as "not a savage, but an educated member of an extremely intelligent community, namely the Deccan Brahmans". Here again he fails to consider her previous and later conduct. Although she had consented to accept the allowance sanctioned by government and had also received from the Government ten lakhs worth of property which belonged to her late husband, the inadequacy, as she regarded it, of the allowance was a grievance additional to the loss of the State. Mr. Kincaid ignores the other instances of disagreement between the Rani and British officials which occurred after the annexation of the State and before the Mutiny, and which show her continued state of ill-feeling ; and he does not mention that Captain Pinkney when he entered Jhansi just after the Rani's flight saw the corpses of two Indians murdered by her orders on account of a personal dispute.

Mr. Kincaid lays stress on the fact that the Rani wrote to the Commissioner asserting that she was holding Jhansi for the British Government and that her only hope lay in a renaissance of the British power, but he does not mention the proclamation that the country was the Padshah's and the Raj was Rani Lakshmi Bai's. Similar letters to British officers were written at other places by local rulers who were beyond doubt deeply committed to hostile and rebellious action. All such must be judged by their deeds and not by their professions. Mr. Kincaid suggests that the Rani was not guilty of rebellion as she was born in Benares. She was, however, born a British subject, as Benares city was British territory at the time, and in fact still is, since it was not included in the area which first became the Benares State only in 1911. Of her bravery and determination there has never been any question, but to Sir Hugh Rose's description of her quoted by Mr. Kincaid may be added that of Sir Evelyn Wood, who was in Bundelkhand some months later, and described her as "the bravest and most implacable of our foes". That tribute to her courage is perhaps better than any attempt to palliate her activities.

An Early Siamese Passport

By REGINALD LE MAY

DR. BARNETT recently sent me an old Siamese document in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies. It is written on a sheet of paper $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 13 in., and its accession-number is 12889. It forms part of the Marsden Collection.

Above the Siamese script is an annotation in German :—

“ Reiste ab von Bangkok d. 3 Dezember
? (kam) zurück d. 10 ditto, 1775 (or 8) ”

[i.e. left Bangkok 3rd December, returned to Bangkok 10th December, 1775 (or 8¹)].

When I had deciphered the not too clear writing, the document proved to be a passport issued by the Ministry of the Interior to a certain foreign Doctor Rahmer (evidently German), allowing him to proceed from Bangkok to Ayudhya (the old capital) for the purpose of collecting herbs and other vegetable matter to cure an unnamed *English* captain lying sick in Bangkok. The doctor was accompanied by three European servants, and three Siamese (two men and one woman).

Ayudhya, the old capital, which lies 45 miles north of Bangkok on an island in the River Menam, had been sacked by the Burmese in 1767, and for some years the country was in a state of chaos. Phya Tāk, a Chino-Siamese of humble birth, who had been Governor of Raheng, succeeded in raising an army to expel the Burmese, but he was still engaged in dealing with their marauding raids, and with innumerable rebellions which sprang up north, south, east, and west. He had established his capital at Tonburi, on the west bank of the Menam, now a suburb of Bangkok, which did not become the capital until the accession of his successor, Chao Phya Chakkri, who founded the present line of kings in 1782.

During the eighteenth century there was practically no intercourse between Siam and the outside world. Ever since the rebellion of 1688 and the expulsion of the French from Siam, there had been a close watch on the entry of foreigners, who were regarded with

¹ The last figure is blurred.

the same hatred and suspicion as they were in contemporary Japan. It is therefore remarkable to find a German and an Englishman (apparently an officer) living in Tonburi, and one of them (albeit a doctor) allowed to travel about the country.

What were they doing? Was the German doctor in the employ of the King (as Phya Tak styled himself)? And was the English captain a military officer, or a naval captain? More probably the latter, and if this were so, could he be Captain Francis Light, the founder of Penang? Siamese governors on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula always addressed him as "the Captain" without any name being specified.

The document may have more importance than it appeared to have at first sight.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Sir Aurel Stein

Like another famous traveller and scholar, Csoma de Körös, who also felt the call of the East, Marc Aurel Stein was by birth a Hungarian, though he acquired British nationality in 1904. Born at Budapest on 26th November, 1862, after school education at Dresden and Budapest he joined the universities of Vienna and Leipzig. His bent for Indian and Iranian studies next drew him to Tübingen, where he worked under R. von Roth, and later to Oxford and London. In 1885 he returned to Budapest to undergo his volunteer training at the Ludoviceum, where, as he gratefully remembered, he got the grounding in surveying that proved so valuable in after years. While in England he came under the influence, among others, of Sir H. Rawlinson, who helped to secure for him employment in India.

In 1888 Stein was appointed Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, where he pursued the linguistic and geographical studies that culminated in his masterly edition, and translation, of Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, a history of the kings of Kashmir (1892, 1900). A revised edition of this work, with additional notes and illustrations, to which he had devoted much time of recent years, is under the consideration of the Kashmir Darbar. In the same period was written his *Ancient Geography of Kashmir* (1899). He became fascinated by the scenery of that country, and it was there that he retired to his "beloved mountain camp", Mohand Marg (11,000 feet), after each of his subsequent expeditions, for uninterrupted quiet to write the detailed reports of his explorations. In 1898, accompanying the Buner Field Force, he made a preliminary tour in that hilly region, the archæological results of which presaged his future career. In 1899 he was appointed Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, a post he held for but a few months. His holidays were spent on a tour in the Gaya and Hazaribagh districts, where he gave further proof of his discernment by correcting the previous identifications of some sites mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims (*Indian Antiquary*, 1901).

Stein was enlisted in the Archæological Survey of India in January, 1904. Meanwhile he had been maturing plans for the exploration in Central Asia that was destined to make him famous. With the sanction and support of Lord Curzon's government he carried out his first Central Asian expedition in 1900-1, when his discoveries at Dandan-oilik, Niya, Endere, and other sites unveiled in a startling manner the early history of that region. The story was first told in *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (1903), and the scientific results embodied in *Ancient Khotan* (2 vols., 1907). His second expedition, in which he pushed much further afield, occupied the years 1906-8, and resulted in yet more momentous discoveries, notably at Niya, Miran, Lou-lan, and Tun-huang, of documents, paintings, textiles, household articles, etc., some of them dating from the first centuries of our era, and all in a wonderful state of preservation owing to the extreme aridity of the climate. It was then that he traced the important cache of documents and paintings at the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas". The finds have been listed and described in *Serindia* (5 vols., 1921), which contains the detailed scientific record of this expedition, while a popular account of it appeared in *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (2 vols., 1912). Specimens of the art treasures from the caves have been illustrated and discussed in the portfolio *The Thousand Buddhas* (1921). Stein's third expedition in 1913-16 carried him over still greater distances (through nearly 30 degrees of longitude), from Darel along the southern fringes of the deserts as far as Khara Khoto in the east, from the Nan-shan ranges above Kan-chou across the perilous Pei-shan to Dzungaria in the north, along the skirts of the T'ien-shan to Kashgar, through the high ranges of the Pamirs to Samarcand, and on to Persian Baluchistan, fresh and important discoveries and identifications being made at almost every stage. The finds in these three expeditions disclosed conclusive evidence of Classical, Iranian, and Indian influences linking up with those of China through these now desolate wastes. Stein succeeded in tracing for 400 miles the Chinese *limes*, or line of forts and wall, completed by the first century B.C. between Su-chou and "Jade Gate" (also identified), routes followed by silk caravans and military missions in ancient days, and some hitherto doubtful stages in Marco Polo's journey.

While awaiting reports from experts and preparing the detailed record of his third expedition (*Innermost Asia*, 4 vols., 1929) Stein

made some shorter archaeological tours. In 1926 he made a rapid, but most profitable, tour in ancient Udyana, identifying, besides many sites of Buddhist association, the Bazira, Ora, and "Rock" of Aornos of Alexander's historians (*Mem. A.S.I.*, and *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (1929)).

The discovery in 1923-5 at Mohenjo-daro in Sind of remains of an advanced civilization dating back to the third millennium B.C. aroused world-wide interest. In 1915-16 Stein had found in Sistan material which he recognized as possibly analogous, and bearing in mind the similarity of certain finds made by de Morgan at Susa and by Major Mockler at Gwadar in Makran he foresaw the probability of tracing vestiges of this prehistoric culture from Sind westwards to the Tigris basin. It was this quest that led him to undertake a succession of tours during the years 1927-1938 from Waziristan through Baluchistan and Southern and Western Iran to the borders of Iraq. The results, which fully confirmed his expectations, were published in *Memoirs, A.S.I., Archaeological Reconnaissances in N.W. India and S.W. Iran* (1937), and *Old Routes of Western Iran* (1940). In 1929 Stein delivered a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute, Boston, U.S.A., which formed the basis of a condensed account of his first three expeditions in innermost Asia entitled *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (1933).

In August, 1930, after visiting Nanking for sanction and passport, Stein once more crossed the passes, eager to carry out a fourth expedition to Hsin-chiang and Inner Mongolia. The attitude of the Chinese government, however, had meanwhile changed, and he was held up at various stages, and finally forced to turn back. Tact and pertinacity enabled him to reach Charchan, and then complete a tour of 2,000 miles round the Taklamakan and make valuable survey observations on the way.

The researches of Fr. Poidebard on the Roman *limes* in Syria and his own tracing of the Chinese *limes* referred to above led Stein to another field of inquiry. After a preliminary air reconnaissance in 1929, he traced and surveyed in 1938 and 1939 from the air and on the ground the remains of Roman *limes* from the Tigris in N.W. Iraq through Syria and Transjordan as far as the Gulf of Aqaba (papers in *G.J.*). Ever since his experience in the Lop desert in 1907, when he seriously contemplated using a man-carrying kite, Stein had foreseen the value of survey from the air.

His last three years were occupied by two very arduous trips in the Indus Kohistan, two surveys of ancient sites, many prehistoric, along the dry bed of the "lost river" (Sarasvati) of the Panjab, and a trying journey through the Las Bela State and part of Gedrosia. The travel record of the Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang had guided Stein, who fondly called him his "patron saint", to site after site in his explorations. Hsüan-tsang (seventh century) and an earlier pilgrim, Fa-hsien (fifth century), had traversed the stupendous gorges of the Indus by "the route of the hanging chains" as it was called in the Chinese annals. These gorges had never been visited by any European. The area, moreover, was tribal territory, beyond our administrative control, and so entry was barred. To his intense delight, as Stein had always wished to complete this last link in his explorations, news came in 1939 from his old friend the Wali of Swat that he had extended his sway up to the west bank of the Indus, and thus the road was so far clear. In October–November, 1941, Stein explored and surveyed the gorges on the west side of the river, much hard travel by tracks possible for bipeds only being involved, and the crossing of a high pass which took sixteen hours. Referring to this trip he wrote: "The scrambles along precipitous mountain sides are a bit fatiguing." In July–September, 1942, when close on 80 years of age, he made a longer trip, unfortunately interrupted by the preaching of *jihād* by a local *faqīr*, to the gorges on the eastern side of the river, "involving," as he wrote, "much hard climbing over a succession of passes, 14,000–15,000 feet"—a truly wonderful feat for a man of his years. His last journey, into Gedrosia, made in January–March, 1943, enabled him to trace Alexander's route on his retreat from Sind (*G.J.*). He had already identified the sites of many famous episodes in Alexander's eastern campaign, in the Panjab, in Persia, and in Iraq.

On 6th October, 1943, he wrote from Kashmir, elated by "the chance desired since boyhood for work in *Ariana antiqua*". On the 13th he wrote from Peshawar, full of plans for work in Afghanistan, adding that he was "very fit". On the 26th he passed away at Kabul, in the zenith of his fame, his faculties undimmed. Scholar and explorer, archæologist and geographer, he had lived laborious days, full of great accomplishment. It is not possible in the space available to describe the wealth and value of the material, now treasured by museums in London, Delhi, Calcutta, Lahore,

the U.S.A. (Harvard), and Iran, recovered in nigh half a century of constant exploration. That hundreds of cases should have been transported safely over such distances of shifting sand and snow-clad passes testifies to the care and skill devoted by Stein to their packing. Many finds had to be referred to specialists in languages, painting, pottery, coins, etc., and willing co-operation was had from leading experts in many countries. The documents in some languages have kept experts busy for over thirty years. For the elucidation, classification, photographing, and descriptive cataloguing of the finds Stein was indebted throughout to the expert services of his life-long artist friend and collaborator, Mr. F. H. Andrews. Moreover it has been possible only to cite Stein's major publications—all models of erudition and scientific accuracy, richly provided with maps and plans, and illustrations from his own photographs—omitting mention of very numerous brochures and papers contributed to learned societies.

On all his journeys Stein carried out, with the aid of trained surveyors deputed by the Government of India, invaluable surveys of areas hitherto unvisited or unsurveyed. Their magnitude may be gauged by reference to his *Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu . . .* (1923), though this covers only his first three tours in Central Asia. The fact is, had he never made the discoveries that have overshadowed his other achievements, his geographical work alone would entitle him to lasting fame. He also found time in secluded mountain tracts to record anthropometric data and make vocabularies of local speech.

Stein was awarded the C.I.E. in 1910 and the K.C.I.E. in 1912. He received the Founder's Gold Medal, R.G.S., in 1909, and the Gold Medals of the R.A.S. and the Society of Antiquaries in 1932 and 1935 respectively, not to mention other honours conferred in this country and abroad, too numerous to list.

Journeys under extreme conditions of heat and cold through trackless sand-swept deserts and amid the highest mountains on the globe necessarily entail hardships and dangers. Of these, always made light of in his letters, Stein had a full share. Scaling in foul weather a 20,000 ft. pass in the K'un-lun in 1908 his feet were badly frost-bitten. After he had been carried by forced marches 300 miles down to the Moravian Mission hospital in Leh,

all the toes of his right foot had to be amputated to save the leg. In 1914, when he was exploring in the high Nan-shan, his horse reared and fell backwards upon him, causing severe injury to his left thigh, which crippled his movements for some months. In minor accidents he broke a collar bone on two or three occasions. In 1937 he had to stop work in N.W. Iran and undergo a serious operation in Vienna. These mishaps never daunted his intrepid spirit.

Stein was exceptionally endowed by study and character for work of exploration. Rare linguistic attainments; familiarity, aided by a remarkably retentive memory, with all previous relevant records; careful planning in every detail; economy of time, labour, and expenditure; an almost uncanny flair for grasping topographical features influencing human movement and settlement: tenacity of purpose; instinctive tact in dealing with men of all races; a wiry physique and indefatigable energy of body and brain; accuracy of observation and discernment in inference, and meticulous attention to accuracy of detail in recording results—all contributed to his pre-eminent success.

By nature unassuming and retiring, Stein had a very generous and warm heart, and a genius for making and keeping friends. It was wonderful how he managed, even under conditions of extreme discomfort, to keep up regular correspondence with them all, letting them share in his thrilling life, and making them feel that he maintained a lively interest in their activities. He wrote a rapid, clear hand, acquired, it may be noted, with characteristic resolution, after one of his professors had warned him that his script was illegible.

Sir Aurel Stein will be mourned by a host of friends in many lands, and by none more deeply than by those hardy, brave, and devoted Indian and Pathan surveyors who were his sole assistants on most of his journeys.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Duncan Black Macdonald

1863-1943

The death of Dr. D. B. Macdonald on the 6th September last removes a figure who will long occupy a special place in the esteem of Arabists. For close on fifty years he was the foremost Islamic scholar and teacher on the American continent (though born and educated at Glasgow), and to his vision and personality was due much of the success achieved by the Kennedy School of Missions.

But his influence radiated far beyond Hartford Seminary and professional missionary circles. The first of his published works, issued in 1903, on the *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, already showed his remarkable power to clothe the dry bones of his subject with living tissue. All his later work was instinct with the same vitality—the vitality of one who has thought and felt deeply and whose vision has penetrated through the outer husks to the essential core. Possessed of a deep and sincere religious faith, he combined an inflexible loyalty to his own ideals with a breadth and charity of outlook that enabled him to enter into the minds of faithful men of other creeds and times and to share their strivings towards the light. And having lived long and familiarly with their books, what he had to say about them was drawn from profound experience and was said with a sincerity and a conviction that disregarded the hesitations and the circum-spections of more conventional minds.

This characteristic directness of feeling was fully displayed in his Chicago Haskell lectures, published in 1909 under the title of *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*. By contrast with the elaborate and laborious products of the German schools they seem ingenuous and simple, but it is precisely in that simplicity that Macdonald's greatness lay. The student who seeks to know the real nature of the religious experience in Islam will have to search very far indeed before he finds a better answer than he will get from Macdonald, both in these lectures and in the subsequent studies, chapters, and articles which he contributed to various volumes and journals, and notably to *The Moslem World*.

During his later years at Hartford his Arabic studies were extended in two other directions. One, the result of an association begun in 1920 with Dr. George Sarton and his journal *Isis*, was in Arabic

science ; the other was in the history and contents of the *Arabian Nights*. Although he published several articles on this subject (most of them in this *Journal*), the bulk of his research materials was eventually transferred to other hands and his fine collection of *Arabian Nights* literature to the Case Memorial Library in Hartford Seminary.

After his retirement from active teaching in 1932 Macdonald devoted himself to the trilogy which he had long planned on Old Testament literature. Two volumes, on *The Hebrew Literary Genius* and *The Hebrew Philosophical Genius*, appeared in 1933 and 1936 ; the third, on *The Hebrew Poetic Genius*, had to be given up through failing health. Although these works attracted little notice, on this side of the Atlantic at least, in the torrent of Biblical publications, they display the same robust individuality, disregard of conventional views, and the same curiously exciting quality as his earlier studies.

To his gifts as a teacher D. B. Macdonald added the qualities of a correspondent. He gave generous measure to his old students, whose affection was expressed on his retirement by the publication of a Presentation Volume of studies. But many a young scholar whom he had never seen must also, like the present writer, cherish the long letters of kindly criticism, appreciation, and encouragement received from him.

H. A. R. GIBB.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

THE MOTHERLY AND AUSPICIOUS. By MAURICE COLLIS. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 179, illus. 8. London: Faber and Faber. 12s. 6d.

The author has wisely chosen drama as the medium for his account of the Empress Dowager of China, Tzu Hsi, a name meaning Motherly and Auspicious. He is thus enabled to portray clearly without hint of exaggeration all the many sinister and unpleasant features of the personality of this extraordinary woman by which she contrived to advance herself step by step until she was absolute ruler of the whole Chinese Empire. In tracing her rise to power he also gives a vivid picture of life, manners, and customs at the court of the Manchus and of the corruption, inefficiency, and rottenness of the regime whose fall was long overdue.

The play is in three acts, each epitomizing one phase of the progress towards Tzu Hsi's goal. The first shows her as daughter of an obscure Manchu official gaining entrance into Court Circles and her conquest of the Emperor: the second marks her elimination of all rival authority by means mostly foul: the third depicts her supreme power and its maintenance even to her very last breath. Unscrupulous, utterly ruthless, and inhuman are her favourite methods of dealing with all her adversaries, with no distinction of rank or sex, and she is helped throughout by the ugly figure of the Chief Eunuch, a ghoulish creature who is her faithful henchman. In Chinese fashion, each of the scenes of the play is introduced by a commentator who quotes from Confucius and other Chinese Classics sentences to justify somewhat the actions of Tzu Hsi. His pronouncements serve to heighten the impression made by the scenes which follow and thus emphasize the cruelty and egotism of this terrible woman.

Once before in the history of China there is record of a woman similar in character and attainments. This was the Empress Wu who lived in the seventh century, started her career at the age of fourteen as concubine of the first T'ang Emperor and then married his son. Her cruelties excel those of Tzu Hsi.

The author gives an illuminating account of the background to his play in the historical introduction, making use of several untranslated texts, thus giving new facts from contemporary sources.

He also gives useful genealogical tables. There are eight illustrations "from portraits or other contemporary records" which help the reader to visualize the main characters of the play. The last of these is of the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi described as "a gentle kindly old lady", but the face as portrayed shows all the craftiness and pride and cruelty so well described in the play.

This book should prove a valuable contribution to the understanding of the downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty that prepared the way for the Chinese Republic.

B. 768.

H. M. LINDSAY.

FORTY YEARS IN CHINA. By Sir MEYRICK HEWLETT. 9 × 5½, pp. ix + 262. London: Macmillan and Co., 1943. 12s. 6d.

Sir Meyrick Hewlett's interesting book is avowedly for the most part a personal record, written solely for family reasons and not pretending to political value.

One could wish this were otherwise. The author's "Forty Years" may well be considered the most important short period in the history of China, and his position as a consular officer stationed chiefly in the Peking area and in the Yangtze valley gave him exceptional opportunities to observe and record details of China's emergence from medievalism.

Perhaps the most valuable, because the most detailed, part of the book is that in which is described the siege of the foreign community of Peking in the British Legation, which took place two years after the author's arrival in China. But of later events of importance, e.g. the revolution of 1911, the subsequent attempt to restore the monarchy, the establishment of the "Republic", the rise of Communism (so called), there is very little to guide the student of Chinese psychology or political history. For this there is, no doubt, excellent reason. The author's position as a retired civil servant would make it difficult for him to use material, or to publish facts and opinions, acquired in an official capacity, and the student must wait until Foreign Office records are made available.

The life of a consular officer in China during this century was often uneventful, not to say monotonous, but to this Sir Meyrick Hewlett's experience is a very noticeable exception. For he seems

to have been in the storm centre of many of the constant civil wars that racked China while he was in the country. In Chengtu, Changsha, Hankow, Amoy, and Nanking he had to deal with one supremely difficult situation after another. And his task was often two-fold: to guard the interests and safety of British residents, and to act as liaison and mediator, as far as possible, between rival Chinese factions. In both tasks his tact and honesty, his courage and initiative seem to have achieved a great measure of success where many in his position would have given up the situation as hopeless in the absence of British armed force. He was lucky, however, in missing the worst of the situation in Nanking in 1927 when a wave of Chinese xenophobia swept all before it, and the lives of foreign residents were only saved by a timely British and American naval bombardment.

Sir Meyrick Hewlett's observations on the characteristics and mentality of the Chinese, particularly the lower classes, are valuable and entertaining; and perhaps the keynote of the book is expressed in his final sentence: "I had many sincere and valuable friendships among Chinese officials and gentry, but it was the people who taught me to love China and led me to believe in her unconquerable spirit."

The book is a remarkable account of an unusual and highly successful career.

B. 767.

E. B. HOWELL.

EMINENT CHINESE OF THE CH'ING PERIOD (1644-1912). Volume I:

A-O. Edited by ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, United States Government Printing Office. pp. 604 + xi. Price \$2.25, plus postage.

Those who have had occasion to refer to Chinese encyclopædias for details of Chinese notabilities must often have been exasperated by the paucity of information and by the absence of intelligible dates. The compilers have usually been content to state the name of the Dynasty in which he flourished after the name of the person, and since the Ming Dynasty lasted from 1368 to 1644, the Ch'ing from 1644-1912, and many of the others for as long or longer periods, this information is not very illuminating to the chronologically-minded Westerner.

The present work is the first serious attempt to produce a comprehensive Chinese biographical dictionary of the last three centuries.

Dr. Hu Shih, who contributes the preface, remarks of it that "there is at present no other work of the kind in any language, including Chinese, which can compare with it in comprehensiveness of conception, in objectivity of treatment, and in general usefulness". He says further: "It is more than a biographical dictionary. It is the most detailed and the best history of China of the last three hundred years that one can find anywhere to-day. It is written in the form of biographies of eight hundred men and women who made that history."

The work was prepared during the years 1934-1942 by some fifty scholars of the Orient and Occident. It grew out of the co-operation of the Library of Congress and the American Council of Learned Societies, assisted by the Rockefeller Foundation.

I have looked up as many names as I could think of and in every case I have found a remarkably detailed account of the person referred to—indeed I have often been astonished that so much information was extant. Entries are under the personal names, but cross-references are also given to the popular names of those who are better known thereby (an exception is Tan Ssü-t'ung who is not entered under his generally known name of K'ang-yu-wei).

This work of scholarship (and it might be called "great" without any misapplication of the term) reflects the utmost credit on Mr. Hummel and his associates, and is indispensable to every library worthy of the name.

In paying tribute to American enterprise an English student of Chinese must be conscious of one lamentable fact. Such a work would not have been possible in England. Even if the money had been available. The reason is that our Chinese libraries are disgracefully incomplete, especially as regards modern Chinese books (at least they were so in 1938 when I last had occasion to examine their resources and I feel sure that the position has not altered). In the U.S.A. there are at least three Chinese libraries superior to all British Chinese libraries put together. And without adequate libraries our old lead in Chinese scholarship must vanish—if it has not vanished already.

The present work will be complete with the second volume which is now in the press. It will contain an index to persons, with cross-references.

B. 769.

W. V. PURCELL.

CHINA, THE FAR EAST AND THE FUTURE. By GEORGE W. KEETON, M.A., LL.D. London : Jonathan Cape, 1943.

Professor Keeton, who is an enthusiastic friend of China, furnishes in this book a sympathetic account of the rise of Chinese nationalism, as well as a penetrating narrative of Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Far East. But he is a less reliable guide when he deals with the future of the Pacific, and in particular when he treats of some of the problems presented by South-Eastern Asia. On page 46, for example, he makes the following surprising statement :—

“Annam, Tonquin, Burma, and Siam were at this period (the latter half of the nineteenth century) still nominally tributary states (to China), although China made no effort to interfere in their internal affairs. . . . In practice, therefore, China’s suzerainty expressed itself simply in cultural influence (each of the states had codes modelled upon the Chinese penal codes, and their literatures were derived from the Chinese classics) and the duty to protect the tributary state in the event of external pressure.”

So far as the law and literature of Burma and Siam are concerned the above statement is altogether inaccurate, for it was from India, and not from China, that those two countries derived their religion, their system of law, their literature, and their general culture. As for Chinese suzerainty over Burma and Siam, it was at no time more than a very shadowy and nominal thing and it may be safely asserted that there is no reason for associating either of them with China on historical, cultural, racial, or linguistic grounds. This being so it is disconcerting to find the author expressing the opinion (p. 273) that Siam will “necessarily” fall “within the Chinese orbit” when the present war is over.

Professor Keeton is on delicate ground, moreover, when he argues that Indo-China should not be placed once again under the tutelage of France at the close of the war, but that Annam (and Cambodia also) should be granted independence, in conjunction, however, with “an allied defence *bloc* in the Far East” and with the establishment of a customs-union with China. This looks very like placing Indo-China, equally with Siam, “within the Chinese orbit,” and is a point upon which by no means everyone will agree with him.

Middle East

SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN ṬĀHIR MARVAZĪ ON CHINA, THE TURKS, AND INDIA. Arabic text with an English translation and commentary by V. MINORSKY. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 170 + 53. Royal Asiatic Society (James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXII), 1942.

The harvest which a few pages of an unpromising mediaeval compilation has been made to yield under the skilful hand of Professor Minorsky comes as no surprise to those who have studied his annotation of the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*. Indeed, one of the main purposes of this work is to carry the critical analysis applied in that book one stage farther. The tangled skein of narrative is patiently unravelled; each paragraph is assigned to an original source, dated, carefully compared with its parallels in other known works, and evaluated. One might find it hard to tell which is more important in the editor's eyes: the tale of facts themselves, or the unpiecing of the jigsaw in the hope of recovering, as the supreme reward, some fragments from that Eldorado of our geographical researchers, the lost work of Abū ‘Abdallāh Jayhānī. Both objects, at least, are pursued concurrently, and those for whom the second has little practical interest will find an ample quarry of geographical and sociological materials in the text and notes. Again and again one marvels at the stores of learning brought to bear on each statement and at the acuteness with which obscure corruptions in the text are spotted and put right.

In comparison with these merits the details that could be picked out for criticism may appear niggling. On some points one may question whether the principles of analysis, admirable in themselves, have not been pushed too far. I am not convinced, for example, that the repeated statements that the Chinese are Manichæans (Chap. VIII, paras. 6, 9, 17) are necessarily to be dated from before A.D. 843, nor that para. 18 is to be connected with Jayhānī, in view of the different contexts of the common statement. As is almost inevitable in dealing with a text that presents peculiar difficulties, there are many questionable readings in the Arabic text and some points of looseness or inaccuracy in the translation. The majority do not affect the general meaning, such as the surprising phrase "Here too belong(s)" (Chap. XII, paras. 10 to 15) in place of the simple "And another (of their arts and sciences) is . . .". But in a few instances the Arabic has been misunderstood.

To take three passages in Chap. VIII: in para. 26, for "The majority of Persian and Arab merchants who travel thither" should be read "The majority of the merchants who travel thither are Persians and Arabs"; at the end of para. 28 for "the mourning is not remitted thereby" should be read "there is no averting the penalty from him (or her)"; and in para. 39 should be read "Their houses are spacious and their sitting-rooms adorned with representations and paintings. Their streets are covered in with lattice-work made of cypress (?) wood . . . and are swept and sprinkled several times a day. They raise the thresholds of their houses above the level of the street in order to prevent refuse from penetrating into them".

H. A. R. GIBB.

India

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN PRINCES. By EDWARD THOMPSON.
pp. 304 + ix. Oxford University Press, 1943. 20s. net.

In the struggles of the country powers, as the Indian princes were termed, there seems to have been little, if any, idea of a balance of power in the European sense; the efforts of the contending parties were directed, not to the just limitation but to the subversion of each other's power. Conquest, territorial aggrandizement, and paramountcy were their declared objects. It was not, however, until the arrival of Wellesley that the British decided to stand forth as the paramount power. This involved the destruction of Tipu's Kingdom of Mysore and the weakening of the Maratha confederacy.

It is with this struggle that Mr. Thompson is concerned. The result is a sober, well-balanced account which should find its place on the shelves of every serious student of British rule in India. More detailed studies will be found in *India Under Wellesley* by Mr. P. E. Roberts, and *Lord Hastings and the Indian States* by Dr. M. S. Mehta. For a valuable account of Maratha affairs the student's attention is also directed to Dr. P. C. Gupta's *Baji Rao II and the East India Company*, 1796-1818.

B. 771.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE INDIAN MUGHULS. By ABDUL AZIZ, Barrister-at-Law. 7 in. \times 5 in., pp. xix + 572. Published by the Author, Lahore, Rs. 8.0.0. Messrs. Luzac and Co., 16s.

This, the second of a series of Monographs contemplated on the Institutions of the Mogul Emperors, contains useful lists of the contents of their Treasury, as reputed or estimated by European travellers and contemporary Moslem historians. As the author points out, it is impossible to say whether these lists represent the result of standard assessments or the collections for a particular year. They do, however, furnish, on the author's careful comparison, some idea of the cash resources of the Imperial Treasury. When he comes to the jewellery of the Emperors the author has to deal with more uncertain quantities and values. He is tempted to an excursus on precious stones in general, and on the details of particular items, many of which never entered the Mogul Treasury. The author, however, writes pleasantly on the story of such famous gems as the Koh-i-Nur. If no exactitude of value can be claimed, the tempting nature of the store which remained with the Emperors till the invasion of Nadir Shah is established. The author's effort to produce a factual description from mere chronicles deserves success and encouragement.

B. 772.

P. R. CADELL.

ANCIENT VIJÑAPTIPATRAS. By Jñānaratna Dr. HIRANANDA ŚASTRI. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 80, 28 plates. Baroda State Press, 1942. Rs. 9.11.0.

A Vijñaptipatra is a formal letter of invitation from a Jain sangha or monastery to the head of another sangha. Often it was illustrated in colour and contained an epitome of current events. Dr. Śāstri sets before himself two aims, to create an interest in these documents as materials for Indian history and to place before scholars the specimens he has reproduced "with the hope that they might take them up for their detailed investigation" (p. 67). He may succeed in his first aim. The book is attractive, and the reading matter, if somewhat discursive, contains much interesting information. But in his second aim he fails. Most of the plates are on such a small scale that detail is lost, and the text is illegible. The only complete transliteration of a text is that of letter No. 1. It is accompanied by a so-called Gujarati translation, which is,

in fact, the text itself partially revised and modernized, and an English translation, which fades out in a loose paraphrase. In this and the other letters the interest is centred upon matters of Jainism and descriptions of the pictures.

The fact that most of the letters are dated and are written from one locality to another holds out a promise of valuable linguistic material, when full texts are available. Letter No. I is written (A.D. 1610), hardly in Mārwarī as stated, but in a language which may be Hindī of Agra or N.E. Rājasthānī of the period. Sent from Agra to Pāṭaṇ in N. Gujarat, it is given a Gujarati flavour by the inclusion of the terminations -nā, -nī, -nai, but -kī, -kai are also used. Letter No. XVII, Jodhpur to Surat (A.D. 1835) contains the lines Ālama Angreja khūba adalla hī nyāya kare; harai saba śatruna ko, cāla cale nīta kī. "In the world the English do strict justice; all foes are conquered, the rule of law is maintained." The unexpected retention of the old obl. pl. form śatruna in this variety of Mārwarī, as in O.Braj and Bundelī, may be paralleled by tyanālā to them, in the Marāṭhī of 1880 (*JRAS.*, 1930, p. 545).

Letter No. 1 is interesting not only linguistically, but also artistically and historically. It contains a contemporary portrait of Jahāngīr by Śālīvāhana the court painter, authenticated by a passage (text, line 52), which Dr. Śāstri has not translated. "Ustād Śālīvāhana, the imperial painter, set down in these pictures the substance of things, exactly as he saw them at that time. Please look for this in the scroll. Be advised also that Ustād Śālīvāhana sends his humble greetings." The scroll also shows that early in his reign Jahangīr continued Akbar's policy of favouring the Jains by forbidding the slaughter of animals during the ten days of Pajjusana, although later, according to the *Oxford History of India*, p. 388, he showed severity to the Jains of Gujarat.

Letter No. II has the picture of a fortified town with the flag of St. George flying over a building. This gives no clue to the date, as Dr. Śāstri suggests, and the landscape is that of Cambay, rather than that of Surat or Bassein.

There is an error of transliteration: jharokhaha for jharokhai, which can be checked from the plate, and the English occasionally requires correction, e.g. *very* for *too* (p. 50), *wear* for *put on* (p. 51). Sāṇand (p. 56) is better described as an important centre of Jainism in Ahmadabad District: when the reviewer knew it the street-lamps used to be shrouded in muslin to prevent moths and flies

from burning themselves. Kervādā and Āmod are well known in Gujarat, as they are the headquarters of the respective Thākors.

There is a full index.

B. 778.

ALFRED MASTER.

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE. By V. VRIDDHAGIRISAN. $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. xv + 197 + 44. Anamalai University Historical Series, No. 3. Anamalainagar, 1942.

This little work with an introduction by Professor C. S. Shrinivasacharya deals with the Naiks of Tanjore in a sound and scholarly manner. Historical and epigraphical sources are quoted and weighed with impartial judgment, and much new light is thrown on the government of both Madura and Tanjore in the seventeenth century. The great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar never really recovered from the disastrous defeat at Talikotta. The Tanjore rulers, under the Empire, remained loyal as it decayed, while Madura took a different course as a disloyal feudatory.

The story runs from Sevappa to the rule of Vijayaraghava, with special appreciation of Raganatha, whom the author ranks as the most gifted of Tanjore's rulers. This prince succeeded to the throne during his predecessor's lifetime in A.D. 1614, and his patronage of learning and music brought renown to the Tanjore State. His religious endowments were conferred impartially on both Vaishnava and Smarta establishments. On p. 170 an account is given of the principal officers of the Tanjore State. The Pradhan or chief minister, Dalavaya or commander-in-chief, Rayasam or chief secretary, and Attavanai or chief accountant, suggest an interesting parallel with the appointments made by the Maratha King, Sivaji, in his order of 1674.

With the decay of power at the centre the outlying portions of the Vijayanagar Empire were forced to rely more and more on their own armaments. Tanjore also suffered from trouble with the adjacent Naik of Madura. The author gives an interesting account of the Tanjore army, gathered largely from the reports of Portuguese missionaries. A special feature was the force of elephants, carrying armoured howdahs, and a camel corps. Tanjore itself and the adjacent town of Vallam were fortresses of considerable strength, to which many others were added in the course of the struggles with Madura.

According to the author "Naik rule in Tanjore forms, from the cultural point of view, a most pleasing epoch in the history of the South Indian people". The carefully weighed evidence furnished in this volume certainly goes a long way to justify this conclusion, and the work can be warmly recommended to all students of Indian history. There are a few misprints, and the author seems to have somehow converted the plural of Bhatt into Bhattars instead of selecting either Bhatts or Bhattaru (Kan).

We shall look forward to his further contributions to India's past.

B. 773.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

Cuneiform

INTRODUCTION TO HURRIAN. By E. A. SPEISER. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxx + 230. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Vol. XX, 1940-1. New Haven, 1941.

This is not an elementary book, but over 200 pages of close analysis. The inquirer will certainly find the beginning and end most useful to him, for the first 10 pages give an admirably full account of what the Hurrian language was and what materials we have for its study, while the last chapter, on "Construction", supplies a good conspectus of its nature and working. The rest it would be impossible to criticize without writing another treatise, if one were equipped to do so. Yet the "general" reader may perhaps feel more keenly than the expert author the hazards of applying such detailed methods to a language very sparsely attested, largely untranslatable, recorded in systems of writing not devised for it, and with no clear philological affinity. In particular, the enthusiasm of grammarians for the "Lautlehre" of languages, no sound of which has passed *vivū' per ora virum* for thousands of years, is continually surprising, and never more so than in the circumstances which have evoked Professor Speiser's fifty pages. All writers upon Hurrian seem to have found it necessary to invent transcriptions varying from what the cuneiform syllabary gives. One need have no doubt that the dress was ill-fitting, but the danger is that one reconstruction insensibly leads to another; and in any case the would-be inquirer has to start with a theoretic recast of his material which will not necessarily commend itself to him. Hurrian is, however, as yet in a situation to have not learners, but only special investigators. Until fresh material is obtained (and there may yet be much, although the Hurri, with

their uncouth speech, do not appear a very literary people) Professor Speiser has furnished all his successors with a fulness of presentment beyond cavil, if also with a number of opinions to which they can fruitfully object.

B. 774.

C. J. GADD.

Miscellaneous

MY TRAVELS THROUGH CHAD. By PIERRE OLIVIER LAPIE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 198. London: John Murray, 1943. 10s.

The author in a Foreword writes, "This is not an artistic or learned work. I have simply reported what I have seen or heard and what impressed me most—a bit of scenery here, some technical detail there, and then again some racial curiosity." Captain Lapie was Governor of the Territoire du Chad in 1941 and 1942. He was appointed by General De Gaulle to succeed M. Eboné when the latter became Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa.

The book is in form, and for the most part, a sort of diary—objectively written—covering Captain Lapie's official visits to the regions of Mayo Kebbi, Logone, the Middle Shari basin, Bagirmi, Wadai, and Kanem, but omitting all reference to politics or administrative and military affairs, and in fact to all the topics which to the general reader make books of this kind interesting and stimulating and, as it were, give cohesion and substance to mere descriptive and rather dry catalogues of people and places seen.

To persons who know these regions well the book will recall many pleasant memories, and it throws some light on what has been happening in these regions since 1940. It also gives the reader a little information about the expeditions in 1941 from bases in Tibesti and Ennedi to Murzuk in Fezzan and later to Kufra.

The opening chapter deals with the capital of the Territoire du Chad, Fort Lamy, and the region of the Lower Shari. The penultimate chapter gives a bird's eye sketch of the semi-desert regions of Borku, Ennedi, and Tibesti. The last chapter, chapter xvi, is devoted to Colonel Leclerc's famous march to Kufra via Wanianga, in March, 1941, and Kufra's subsequent capture by the French after a desert trek of 600 miles from Faya. Naturally in a translation from the French the spelling of African and Arab place-names presented the translator with a knotty problem. He solved it by

adhering to the French spelling in all or practically all cases, which to an English reader is not very satisfactory.

As the real point of the book, however, is to show how the Fighting French have been spending their time, and what they have been doing in these regions to help the Allied Cause, one must not expect it to be more than it is—an ephemeral record of things seen in these regions, particularly such as have propaganda value. General De Gaulle observed to Captain Lapie, "You must write down everything you've told me." The book is the result of that suggestion.

B. 775.

H. R. PALMER.

RASHI AS PHILOLOGIST. By JOSEPH PEREIRA-MENDOZA. 9 in. × 6 in., pp. xii + 75. Manchester University Press, 1940.

This thesis (for the degree of Master of Arts) is a further proof of the vitality of Semitic studies at Manchester. It covers only one side of Rashi's commentary and in addition is restricted to a commentary on the Pentateuch. The same subject (as Mr. Pereira-Mendoza tells us) has been studied more or less concurrently by an American scholar, Professor Harry Englander, who has just beaten Mr. Pereira-Mendoza in the matter of publication. Professor Englander's researches also embrace the whole of Rashi's commentary on the Hebrew Bible. Such cases of overlapping call urgently for an academic clearing house, one of whose functions would be the elimination of duplicate research. Nevertheless, Mr. Mendoza has earned our thanks for his carefully documented and scholarly study. Although Rashi shines most in the field of exegesis, and was but the child of his age and of mediaeval Europe in Hebrew philology, his acute and powerful mind, in spite of being handicapped by a lack of an adequate scientific terminology, throws a great deal of light upon grammatical points. (It is a pity that the barrier of language and country prevented Rashi from benefiting from the pioneering labours of his compatriots in Spain and the East.)

This study is generally accurate, but some misprints (e.g. on pp. 12 and 15) have escaped the vigilance of the author. The style has not always the luminous brevity of Rashi's.

B. 776.

J. LEVEEN.

ESSAYS AND STUDIES BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH ASSOCIATION,
Vol. XXVIII (1942). 14½ × 5½, pp. 83. Oxford: Clarendon
Press. 7s. 6d.

Life is too brief for many of us to devour Lord Teignmouth's three volumes on Sir William Jones: Mr. R. M. Hewett's essay in this book substitutes an agreeable tabloid. It is, he considers, by an odd fate that Jones, who laid no claim to originality as a philologist, has been bracketed along with "Bopp, Pott, and Schleicher . . . for 'Universal Grammar' was one of the least of his many interests, and he was content to learn strange tongues merely to extract the poetry". But if posterity has exaggerated his achievement as a philologist, it has not condoned the defects of his poetry; and of all his translations ("orient pearls at random strung") perhaps only the rendering of a couplet by Firdausi merits an ironical immortality:—

Kill not the ant that steals a little grain.
It lives with pleasure and it dies with pain.

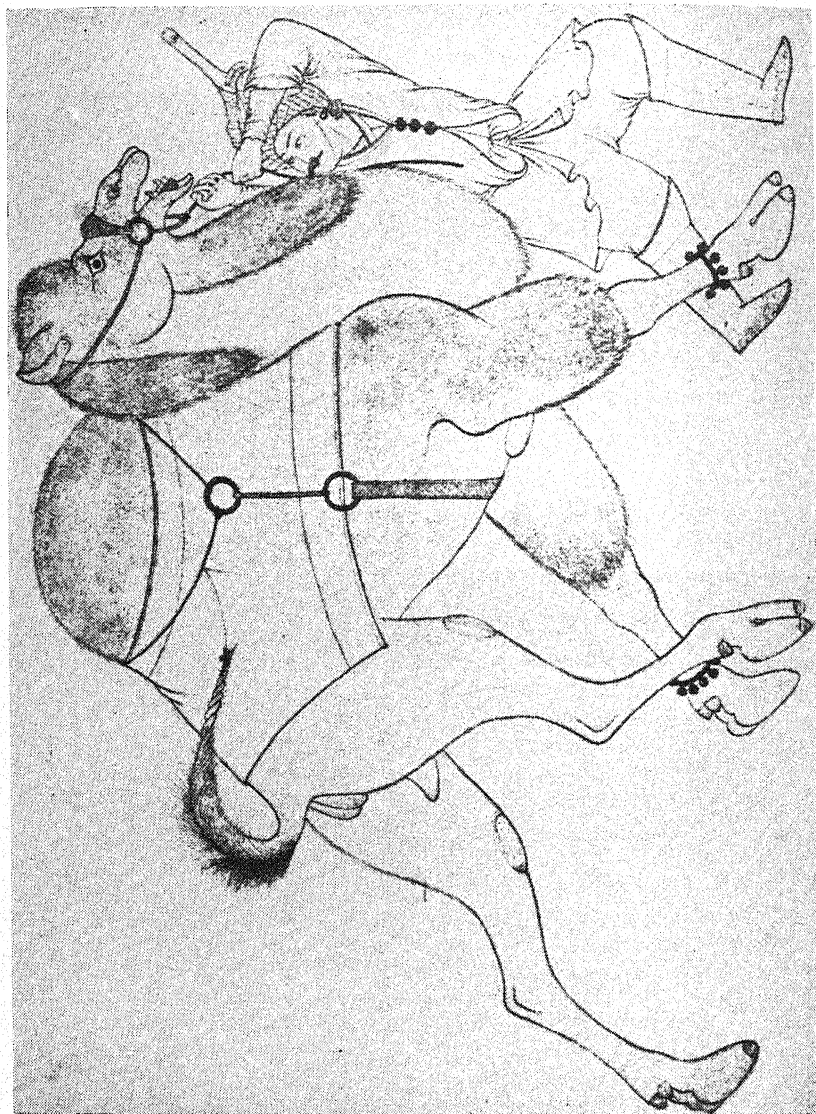
Mr. Hewett recalls Sir William's influence on English literature from Gibbon to Shelley, Tennyson, Fitzgerald, George Borrow, and Mangan. He also contrasts his "objective and courteous treatment of Indian religion" with the attitude of Macaulay who "having grown out of the missionary into the rationalist, is doubly contemptuous": "Jones," he remarks, "was the finer spirit, but unhappily he had no Trevelyan." Mr. Hewett concludes that "the wide and enduring influence of Jones' work is due chiefly to miscellaneous writings such as the Discourses to the Asiatic Society".

In the introduction to his *Persian Grammar* Sir William wrote how "the state of letters seems to be divided into two classes, men of learning who have no taste, and men of taste who have no learning". It is a melancholy commentary that his own work illustrates how both taste and learning may be ephemeral. But his day, that provided so few advantages for his pursuits, endued him with the splendour of a torch-bearer and furnished Sir Joshua to paint his portrait.

B. 777.

R. O. WINSTEDT.





Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 3

By DORA GORDINE (THE HON. MRS. RICHARD HARE)

(PLATES XII AND XIII)

IV

ELEPHANTS

Painted by Ghulam, A.D. 1621

Indian Museum, Calcutta

THIS is a remarkable composition. The big elephant stands out distinctly, but not too definitely, against a subdued tropical background of interlaced branches and tangled vegetation, a monumental and majestic figure that dominates the scene.

At first glance one is most struck by this huge elephant's solidity and the firm but alert carriage. Gradually one starts to appreciate a softness of texture in the hide, particularly on the legs and belly. Above all there is a lively and mischievous humour inspiring the movement of the beast's body as well as the attitude of the head.

The elephant's head betrays the quintessence of roguishness. The tiny little eye is gleaming. The drawing of it is confined to the simplest lines, but it is astonishing how much the artist has conveyed. The expression of the large open mouth is in harmony with the little eye. The trunk is boldly curved backward with a rollicking sense of vigour and triumph: it has just wrested the goad and leaning forward prince Muhammad Murad is aiming a blow to make the beast drop its dangerous weapon. The elephant's tail completes the composition with the same vigorous backward swirl that characterizes the movement of the trunk. The two complement each other. In spite of the tail's slimness, one feels it is tense and hard like steel.

The figure of the prince, alert and graceful, is merged with the background, so as not to divert attention from his mount. The docility of two little elephants in the middle distance lends further emphasis to the vigour of the great refractory beast in the foreground.

III

THE CAMEL

Persian: Sixteenth century

As the Mogul elephant is representative of art, so this Persian camel is typical of mere craftsmanship. The execution is correct but all the lines are monotonous without variation of breadth or depth. The artist has failed to distinguish the essential from the unessential and so to bring out the salient characteristics of the animal depicted. The hump looks like a pneumatic cushion, the chest like an inflated bagpipe, and the right haunch lacks strength and definition. The camel is as dry as the desert.

As for the driver, although the lines of drapery are skilfully done, his lower garment is poorly drawn and his head is too small and insignificant.

The only praise one can give is that the Persian craftsman's attempt to achieve decorative design is preferable to crude representation.

Something New on Ibn Quzmān

By E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

I. THE PRESENT POSITION

TO judge by the number of works published during the last ten years ¹ the study of Ibn Quzmān should have made appreciable progress. It has marked time. If the opposite seems to have happened it is because students of the Romance languages have taken up the study which students of Arabic had dropped because of the many pit-falls in the way.

Two of the latter, after a preliminary grounding in Arabic, thought they would make frontal attacks on the *ḏiẓwān* of Ibn Quzmān using the unique manuscript copied in the East in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. and acquired at the beginning of the nineteenth for the Asiatic Museum, Leningrad. It was described by Rosen in 1881, and de Gunzburg published a photographic reproduction in 1896. In 1933 A. R. Nykl published in Spain the result of his studies, a bulky *Cancionero de Aben Guzmán*; containing an introduction, partial translation, a transliteration of the poetry, and a facsimile of the text. Critical scholarship gave the book only a lukewarm welcome. G. S. Colin, who at that date was already the specialist best qualified to deal with the language of Ibn Quzmān, showed by argument closely reasoned and convincing that the laborious enterprise of the Czech professor had failed almost completely, and that very little trust could be placed in his transcription and translation; further there were too many gross mistakes. The review ends: "The *ḏiẓwān* of Ibn Quzmān still waits an editor and translator."

The work of the Finn, O. J. Tuulio, alias Tallgrenn, only appeared in 1941, too recently for reviews to have appeared in learned journals. As the title says, it is an "incomplete and provisional" edition of seven of the most characteristic *zajals* with a French translation. In spite of the accurate philology which enriches this work it seems to be no advance on that of A. R. Nykl. Both scholars lack some things indispensable for understanding the *ḏiẓwān* through the veil of the one manuscript which contains it; knowledge of the rules of ancient Arab writing, a determination of the metrical systems

¹ See the bibliography, § V.

used by the poet, and especially long familiarity with the varieties of Spanish Arabic and their nearest relatives, the Arabic dialects of Morocco. No doubt they lack also that intimate knowledge of Muslim society in the West which can only soak in during a long stay in daily contact with the townsmen and peasants of the Maghrib. In 1881, when his dictionary was being printed, Dozy gave this reason for not publishing the *ḍiḥān* of Ibn Quzmān. He wrote to Rosen: "To succeed in such an undertaking one must have made a long stay in the east (interpreted freely) and studied seriously the dialects of to-day, especially that of Morocco."

Though their labours bore little fruit, both A. R. Nykl and O. J. Tuulio started with the same idea: to explain the many passages in the *ḍiḥān* where, instead of colloquial Arabic, Spanish as used at that time by certain classes of the inhabitants of Andalous, is employed. They judged rightly that these passages were of great linguistic importance and they wished to free them from all obscurities. They are not the first to try to explain these Romance phrases which in the manuscript are in Arabic letters. Much earlier F. J. Simonet and J. Ribera had tried with some success to decipher these passages which usually cannot be severed from the Arabic context. J. Ribera was a pioneer in another direction which also interested the Romance scholars. In 1912 he created a stir by an article in which he suggested for the first time that the similarity in the forms of the strophe and the alternation of rhymes in Spanish Arabic poetry (*muwashshah* and *zajal*) and in the songs of the troubadours of Aquitaine and Provence is not a chance coincidence. This bold hypothesis started fierce debates; but it gained ground. Afterwards the problem was attacked again, with all the authority attaching to his unrivalled learning, by the master of Romance studies in Spain, D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. In a little book, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea*, he tries to solve the problem of poetic forms, which Ribera had started, and also the problem of a common origin for the subjects treated both by the troubadours and by the Spanish Arabic poets of the Middle Ages. Now Romance scholars believe that the origin of the spiritualized or "courteous love", as sung by bards on both sides of the Pyrenees, is to be found in Spanish Arabic poetry.

Perhaps. But this must be proved up to the hilt. Certainly not in the poetry of Ibn Quzmān. G. S. Colin wrote in his review, "for those who seek in Arab Spain the source of 'courteous love' the

choice of Ibn Quzmān was not happy." Only rarely does this writer of *zajals*, in the piquant or witty stanzas preceding some mercenary panegyric on a Spanish Macænas, suppress his crude and sensual wit to let his ideals come to the surface. He admits that he despises what he calls *ḥubb al-murūwa*. Apparently he was not influenced by the theories of ideal love set forth a century before by his fellow countryman Ibn Ḥazm in the *Tawq al-ḥamāma*. If he should indulge in amorous exchanges, which are relatively chaste, they are adorned with reminiscences of the classical poetry of the East which he knew well; but then he is not himself.

What about the problems in which Romance scholars are so interested? The solutions will only be possible when we have a critical edition of Ibn Quzmān, answering to the wishes of Dozy and a translation on which both students of language and of literary history can whole-heartedly rely. That day is not very far distant.

Some years ago G. S. Colin completed a scientific transliteration of all the *zajals* in the manuscript.¹ Based on the need for allowing for the play of the disjunctive vowels, characteristic of Spanish Arabic, and of the classical metrical system (long or short syllables and number of them) applied to the *zajal*, this transcription has smoothed away most of the difficulties which have hitherto defeated the Arabists who wanted to study Ibn Quzmān. It shows that the verses are clear and the metre regular; many obscurities, due to bad division of words, resolve themselves. If some passages are still doubtful in meaning, or even incomprehensible, the philological riddle of Ibn Quzmān has been solved. The language of the poet causes no difficulties so long as the reader is accustomed to the Moroccan *koine* and has Schiaparelli's *Vocabulista* always at hand. The translation of the *diwān*, to be accompanied by a commentary, is relatively advanced. G. S. Colin has kindly asked me to help in it. It would have been finished but for other duties and the difficulties of the present time. I shall not wait for the publication of this translation to set out certain facts about the author.

II. TWO ABŪ BAKR IBN QUZMĀN

In an article entitled *Biographische Fragmente über Ibn Quzmān* (*Der Islam*, 1938), A. R. Nykl published the bare Arabic text of nine passages of various lengths about the man he believed

¹ G. S. Colin, *Les voyelles de disjonction dans l'arabe de Grenade au XVème siècle*; *Memorial Henri Bassot*, Paris, 1928, i, pp. 211-18.

to be the author of these *zajals*. Rosen, Dozy, and Seybold knew most of these passages. The longest is from the *Iḥāṭa* of Ibn Khaṭīb (Escorial, 1673, pp. 54-9); another is from the second volume of the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām (MSS. of Tunis, mosque of al-Zaytūna, and Oxford); a third from *Qalā'id al-'iqyām* by al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān (ed. Būlaq, 1283 A.H., p. 187: Marseilles-Paris, p. 213); a fourth from the *Tuhfat al-qādim* of Ibn al-Abbār (Escorial, 356, f. 49b). The passage from the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* by 'Imād al-dīn al-Iṣfahānī will be noticed presently; the others are classical verses or samples of rhymed prose by Ibn Quzmān.

Take the first four fragments, which are all Spanish, in chronological order. That from the *Qalā'id* is about the vizier Abū Bakr ibn Quzmān. Al-Mutawakkil 'Umar ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Aḥṣad rulers at Badajoz (473/1081-487/1094), who was dethroned by Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn eight years after the battle of Sagradas, took this Ibn Quzmān into his service. He filled high offices of state before he suffered from the inconstancy of fortune; at the end of his life he quarrelled with Ibn Ḥamdīn (several judges of Cordova bore this name), and a long period of disgrace resulted.

In the *Dhakhīra* Ibn Bassām treats of the vizier secretary Abū Bakr ibn Quzmān. He thinks him the most striking secretary of state in Andalous in the fifth century A.H. Al-Mutawakkil was the first to take him into his service. Two long epistles in a florid style are quoted and three fragments of classical poetry, one of which is in the *Qalā'id*.

It is at once obvious that these two authors esteem Ibn Quzmān as a poet and stylist in the classical language. No allusion is made to his *zajals*. The dates of his birth and death are not given. Al-Faṭḥ gives a *terminus ad quem* by connecting Ibn Quzmān at the end of his life with an Ibn Ḥamdīn, judge of Cordova.

Ibn al-Abbār, on the contrary, speaks of the poet's *zajals*, and is precise about his date and family. He calls him Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān of Cordova; he was a master of the art of the *zajal* and died in Cordova in 554/1159 when it was besieged by Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, i.e. Ibn Mardanīsh. Five passages of classical poetry are quoted, all different from those given by al-Faṭḥ and Ibn Bassām.

Fullest details are given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his notice of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān al-Zuhri

of Cordova. As usual with this writer, the notice is divided into paragraphs. The first is a summing up of his character, a laudatory appreciation based on two witnesses, al-Faḥ (who is quoted verbally though shortened) and the Maghribi biographer Ibn 'Abd al-malik al-Marrākushī, author of *Kitāb al dhayl wal-takmila*. The latter says that Ibn Quzmān "was skilled in the composition of frivolous poems in the vernacular of Andalous, poems called *zajal*". There are eleven pieces of poetry, that quoted by al-Faḥ and Ibn Bassām, the five quoted by Ibn Abbār but not one *zajal*! The next section is on the stylist; it contains two long letters on the appearance of the crescent moon in Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. Then the author speaks of his coming to Granada, to justify an account of him in the *Iḥāṭa* which is a monograph on the capital of the Naṣrid kingdom: Ibn Quzmān went there often and composed panegyrics on Ibn Aḍḥa, Ibn Hānī, Ibn Sa'īd, and other citizens of Granada. He mentions Ibn Quzmān's meeting in a garden belonging to Ibn Sa'īd outside the town at al-Zāwiya (la Zubia)¹ with the blue stocking Nazhūn al-Qulay'īya and notes the agreeable turn taken by the talk.² Another story, taken like the first from the *Tāli*³ of Ibn Sa'īd, tells how Ibn Quzmān fell by chance into a pond, with three lines of classical verse composed by him on that occasion. Finally come his varying fortunes (*mihnatuhu*), a mere paraphrase of what the *Qalā'id* said. At the end is an exact date; Ibn Quzmān died at Cordova on the eve of the last day of Ramaḍān 555 (2nd October, 1160)⁴ while Ibn Mardanīsh was besieging the city.

The result of co-ordinating these dates is something like this:—

Ibn Quzmān at the beginning of his career took service under the king of Badajoz al-Mutawakkil at some time unknown but probably before the Almoravides interfered in Spain, say the year of the battle of Sagrajas, 1086, the latest date possible. The new secretary can hardly have been in his first youth; suppose that he was thirty at least, then he was born in 1056. At his death in 1160 he would be more than a centenarian. This is not impossible and there are many cases of unusual longevity in the Muslim world.

¹ See E. Lévi-Provençal, *Deux nouveaux fragments des "Memoires" du roi ziride 'Abd Allah de Grenade*; *al-Andalus*, vol. vi, p. 18, n. 2.

² E. García Gómez, *El libro de las banderas de los campeones, de Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī*, Madrid, 1942, p. 211 and note.

³ E. García Gómez, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii ff.

⁴ Not 30th December as Nykl says (p. xxiv); he has repeated Seybold's mistake from the *ET*.

But none of his biographers says anything of his unusual age! Furthermore, the two first biographers do not say a word about his *zajals*, to which he owes his fame, while the other two mention them briefly but do not quote them.

A. R. Nykl thought these biographical details suspect, so he tried to find in the *zajals* some evidence in support. In 1086, the year of Sagrajas, Ibn Quzmān was only six or eight years old; so, supposing that al-Mutawakkil employed him in 1094 just before he was dethroned, he would have been between fourteen and sixteen; young, as Nykl admits.¹ How does he arrive at the poet's age in 1086? *Zajal* 38, stanza 10, which refers to Sagrajas, has a line, "I was then in my father's hut and did not see the battle" (*en la choza de mi padre*, as Nykl translates). Does "be in my father's hut" mean "be a child"? The Arabic words are: *fi khuṣā waldī kunt ana, lam narā*. The meaning is obvious: there is no need to play with the text to get Nykl's reading *khuṣṣi* for *khuṣṣ* "reed hut". Ibn Quzmān says bluntly: "On the day of Sagrajas I was in my father's loins so I was not an eye-witness." After this precise statement, the poet could not have been born before 1087. When did he become vizier of al-Mutawakkil?

The conclusion is that the author of the *zajals* cannot have been secretary to al-Mutawakkil and that this secretary was another man having the same name as the poet of the vernacular. One Ibn Quzmān, an eleventh century secretary who wrote epistles and poems in the classical language; a second, who wrote *zajals* and died in 1160. Al-Faṭḥ and Ibn Bassām spoke only of the former, while Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, misled by the name, have combined the two into one without bothering about the chronological difficulties raised by this confusion.

Not the least strange part of the business is that Rosen saw from the first that there were two Ibn Quzmān. His description of the manuscript in a note to Gunzburg's facsimile has the warning: "Not to be confused with Abou Bekr Ibn Qozmān, vizier of Abu (*sic*) Motawakkil the Aftasid." For this man Rosen refers to Ibn Khāqān, Ibn Bassām, and 'Imād al-dīn al-Iṣfahānī. So far we have put off speaking of the notice by this last writer because in it is a decisive proof that there were two men of this name. The *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* has a few lines about the literary merits of the vizier secretary Abū Bakr ibn Quzmān "who was at the beginning of his career in

¹ *Cancionero*, p. xx.

the service of the ruler known as al-Mutawakkil in the West". In the Leyden manuscript follows a sentence, a marginal gloss which later found its way into the text: "There was another Ibn Quzmān who wrote *zajals*."

After having seen the truth Rosen gave way before the imposing authority of Dozy. Dozy's letter is printed by Gunzburg; it runs:—

As to the poet, you thought with Imād-ad-Dīn that there are two Ibn-Cozmān, the vizier of Motawakkil of Badajoz and the author of the *zedjel*. I do not think this is right. Those in the east have usually only vague and often wrong ideas about the literature of the Arabs in Spain and here Imād-ad-Dīn contradicts a very learned Spaniard, and you know the proverb, The owner of the house knows best what is in it. I speak of Ibn-al-Khatīb. The article in the *Calāyid* treats, as you rightly say, of the vizier of Motawakkil, but Ibn-al-Khatīb, after speaking of the poet's *zedjel*, adds:—

ثم جرت بان حمدین محنة بسبب شکاسة خلق کان به شقی بسببها
وقد ذکر الفتح فی قلائده ذلک

You see it is a question of one man only. He was first employed in the ministries of Motawakkil, when the title of vizier had hardly more importance than that of *Hofrath* or *Geheimrat*. The fall of his patron and the conquest of Spain by the Almoravids were for him and for most men of letters a thunderbolt. Robbed of the employment which was his livelihood, he became, as you say, a hungry poet who lived on the produce of his panegyrics. It follows that the title of vizier in your manuscript is correct.

In spite of the proverb no one will deny that Ibn al-Khatīb was badly deceived. If Dozy believed that he must follow him, it is because, (1) he did not know of the autobiographical detail in *zajal* 38; (2) he did not possess the collection of Spanish Arabic biographies which F. Codera and J. Ribera were then publishing. The study of these collections now permits the mystery of the two Ibn Quzmān to be cleared up completely.

III. THE BANŪ QUZMĀN FAMILY ACCORDING TO THE SPANISH BIOGRAPHERS

The indices to the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana* contain five biographies relating to the Banū Quzmān of Cordova; two in the *Sila*¹ of Ibn Bashkuwāl, two in the *Bughyat al-multamis* of al-Ḍabbi,

¹ The *Sila* (no. 149) is a life of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Quzmān of Toledo (fifth century A.H.), no connection of the Cordova family.

and one in the *Takmilat al-ṣila* of Ibn al-Abbār. The vizier of al-Mutawakkil is named Abū Bakr ibn Quzmān by Ibn Khāqān, Ibn Bassām, and 'Imād ad-dīn. The manuscript of the *zajals* calls its author *al-shaykh al-wazīr al-ajall u'jūbat al-zamān* Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān. Ibn al Abbār and Ibn al Khaṭīb give the name Muḥammad, corresponding to Abū Bakr, and insert 'Īsā thus making Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān.

There is one Muḥammad ibn Quzmān in the Spanish biographies, but he cannot be the poet as he died in 508 A.H. He is Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān (*Ṣila* no. 1139) of Cordova, with rich mental gifts and known as a writer. He died 6 Rajab 508 (6th December, 1114) at Cordova and was buried in the cemetery of Umm Salma.¹ There is little doubt that this *adīb* was the secretary of al-Mutawakkil; the biographer does not say so, but the similarity of name and the suitability of the date carry reasonable conviction.

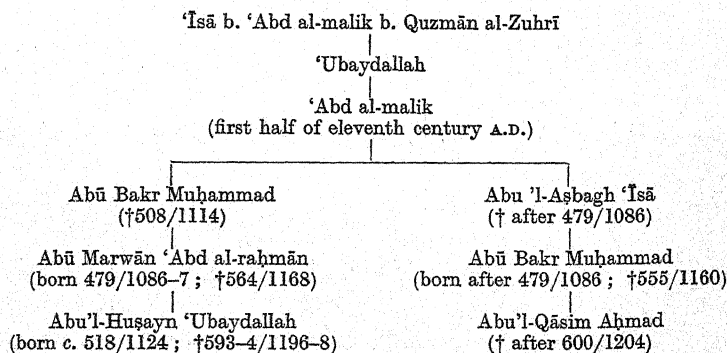
More is heard of him through his direct descendants. Two notices (*Ṣila* no. 752; *Bughya* no. 989) refer to his son Abū Marwān 'Abd al-raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān, a well known *faqīh* of Cordova, born 479/1086-7 and died at Osuna 564/1169. This 'Abd al-raḥmān left a son Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Ubaidallah (*Takmila* no. 1517). This 'Ubaidallah was born at Cordova about 518/1124 and settled at Osuna where his father was judge. He himself was judge in several places in the region of Cordova and taught in that town and also at Malaga. He died at Osuna in 593 or 594 (1196-8). The notice also gives his descent in full: 'Ubaydallah ibn 'Abd al-raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn 'Ubaydallah ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān. So the grandfather of this 'Ubaydallah, whom we identify with the secretary of al-Mutawakkil, was called Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn 'Ubaydallah and not, as he appears in the *Tuhfat al-qādim* and the *Iḥāṭa*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. It follows that the 'Īsā interpolated in the second genealogy can only be the brother of the *adīb* Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-malik and the father of the writer of *zajals*, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Abd al-malik; the poet was the nephew on the father's side of his namesake. This 'Īsā is mentioned in the *Bughya* (no. 1149) for it is not likely

¹ E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xème siècle*, Paris, 1932, p. 209, note

that the article refers to the great-great-grandfather of the poet. The notice is very short and contains no dates; it speaks of the secretary and poet Abu 'l-Aṣṣbagh 'Īsā ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn Quzmān.

The poet's son is mentioned in a manuscript volume of *Kitāb al dhayl wal-takmilā* by Ibn 'Abd al-malik al-Marrākushī (Fez-al Qarawiyīn mosque; no. 40-626, p. 182). It runs: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn Quzmān al-Zuhrī of Cordova, residing at Malaga, Abu 'l-Qāsim. He was son of the man famous for his skill in writing light verse in the popular tongue of Spain, Abū Bakr ibn Quzmān. He repeated traditions after Abū Bakr ibn Samajūn the grammarian. Abu 'l-Qāsim ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ṭaylasān repeated after him. He died soon after 600/1204.

Therefore, starting from the common ancestor 'Abd al-malik ibn 'Ubaydallah there were two branches of the Banū Quzmān of Cordova; one branch moved to Osuna, the other to Malaga. This is the family tree:—



IV. THE TWO IBN QUZMĀN IN THE MUGHRIB OF IBN SA'ĪD

If readers have not been convinced by the preceding arguments, here is something to overcome their last hesitation.

The Royal Library of Egypt has the autograph of the *Mughrib* by Ibn Sa'īd. I have complete photographs of the volumes relating to Muslim Spain and hope to publish them soon with the help of Professor E. García Gómez.¹ In the part which treats of the kingdom of Cordova, two adjacent articles deal with the two Abū Bakr ibn Quzmān. The first, the secretary of al-Mutawakkil, is called the

¹ See *al-Andalus*, vol. vii, p. 251

elder ; the second, his nephew the writer of *zajals*, is the younger.
What more convincing proof is wanted ? Here follows the text :—

[Caire, n°. 133م, f°. 285a]

بيت بنى قزمان

أثنى على هذا البيت الحجارى فى بيوت قرطبة وأنهم لم
يزالوا ما بين وزير وعالم ورئيس ،

[285 b] أبو بكر محمد الأكبر بن عبد الملك

ابن عيسى بن قزمان القرطبى

ذكر ابن بسام أن المتوكل صاحب بطليوس أول من
اتخذه كاتباً، وأثنى على بيته وذاته؛ وأثبت له رسالة طويلة
من غير طائل وشعراً تركه أولى من إirاده. وأثنى عليه صاحب
القلائد وذكر أنه تكدر غيشه فى آخر عمره وأساء فى حقه
القاضى أبو عبد الله بن حمدى وأن أخلاقه كانت صعبة فقلت
من غربه، وكانت سبباً لطول كربه، ولم يورد له إلا قوله :

ركبوا السيول من الحبول وركبوا فوق العوالى الشرى زرق يطاف
وتجملوا الغدران من ماذيهم مرتجة إلا على الأكتاف

أبو بكر محمد بن عيسى بن عبد الملك

ابن عيسى بن قزمان الاصغر

إمام الزجالين بلاندلس وسيرد من عجائبه فى الأهداب،
ما يشهد له بالتقدم له فى هذا الباب. وذكر الحجارى [286 a]

أَنَّهُ كَانَ فِي أَوَّلِ شَأْنِهِ مُشْتَغَلًا بِالنَّظْمِ الْمُعَرَّبِ فَرَأَى نَفْسَهُ
تَقْصُرُ عَنْ أَفْرَادِ عَصَرِهِ كَابِنِ خَفَاجَةٍ وَغَيْرِهِ فَعَمِدَ إِلَى طَرِيقَةٍ
لَا يَمَازِجُهُ فِيهَا أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ فَصَارَ إِمَامَ أَهْلِ الزُّجَلِ الْمُنَظُّومِ بِكَلَامِ
عَامَةِ الْأَنْدَلُسِ،

وَمِنْ شَعْرِهِ عَلَى طَرِيقَةِ الْمُعَرَّبِ قَوْلُهُ، وَقَدْ رَقِصَ فِي مَجْلِسِ
شَرْبٍ فَأَطْفَأَ السَّرَاجَ بَأَكْمَامِهِ:

يَا هَلْ ذَا الْمَجْلِسِ السَّامِي سِرَاتِهِ مَا مِلْتُ لَأَكْتَنِي مَالَتِ بَنِي الرَّاحِ
فَإِنْ أَكُنْ مُطْفِئًا مُصْبِحًا يَتَكَمَّرُ فَكُلُّ مَنْ قَدْ حَوَاهُ الْبَيْتُ مُصْبِحًا

وَقَوْلُهُ فِي يَحْيَى بْنِ غَانِيَةِ الْمُلُكِ سُلْطَانِ الْأَنْدَلُسِ:

وَلِلَّهِ يَحْيَى إِذْ تَأَبَّطَ لِلْوُغَا مِنْ السُّرِّ حَزِيمًا أَرْقَمًا ثُمَّ أَرْقَمَا
وَتَارَتْ بِهِ الْمَجَا كَزَيْدٍ بِنَارِهِ فَصَيَّرَ كَافُورَ الصَّوَارِمِ عَنْدَمَا
لَهُ مَوْقِفٌ رَدُّ الْمَجَاجِ سَاءَهُ ثَرَى وَالثَّرَى مِنْ أَنْجَمِ السُّجَرِ كَالسَّاءِ

TRANSLATION

Family of the Banū Quzmān

Al-Ḥijārī praised this family among those of Cordova and stated that its members were always viziers, scholars, or leaders.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-akbar ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn 'Isā ibn Quzmān al-Qurtubī.

Ibn Bassām says that al-Mutawakkil, prince of Badajoz, was the first to employ him as secretary. He lauded the family and the man. He quotes in full to no profit a long letter of his and verses which it is better to omit than to repeat. The author of the *Qalā'id* speaks well of him, but says that the end of his life was clouded by anxieties, that the judge Abū 'Abdallah ibn Ḥamdīn behaved badly to him, and that Ibn Quzmān was difficult. He suffered from his temperament which was the cause of his long disgrace. Ibn Khāqān quotes only these verses of his.¹ (*kāmīl*).

¹ They are quoted in the *Dhakhīra*, the *Ikhāṭa*, and also in al-Maqqari, *Analectes*, ii, p. 431.

They rode horses as impetuous as torrents and fixed on the points of their spears steel shining like jewels.

They conquered the plains in the rush of their advance, by means of their weapons which yet stayed on their shoulders.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Abd al-malik ibn 'Īsā Ibn Quzmān al-aṣghar.

The chief *zajal* writer of Andalous. In the *Ahdāb* will be given examples of his art which will prove his pre-eminence in this style. Al-Hijārī says that at the beginning of his career he wrote poetry in the classical language, but soon realized that he could not equal the best poets of his day like Ibn Khafāja and others. He turned to a style in which no one could rival him ; so he became the chief of those who compose *zajals* in the vernacular.

He once danced in a hall where drinking was going on and put out some lamps with his sleeves. He composed these verses in the classical tongue. (*baṣīṭ*).¹

You who are in this room glorified by the great there gathered !
I did not shake ; wine made me shake.

If I put out the lamp which lights your hall, each one, whom the room shelters, is a lamp.

These are on Yaḥya ibn Ghāniya the Almoravid (*mulaththim*) "sultan" of Spain. (*tawīl*).²

What a sight is Yaḥya when he holds under his arm, to strike his enemies, a bundle of lances, white and black, which is also like a deadly serpent.

When anger springs from him like sparks from flint and steel, when he blackens the milk white gleam of his sharp sword with the blood of his victims !

He has a stance for war such that his whirlwind turns the sky into water blessing the earth. Earth and sky form parts of a good horoscope.

The Ibn Ḥamdīn with whom Ibn Quzmān the elder quarrelled was Abū 'Abdallah. The *Ṣīla* (no. 1138) calls him Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'azīz ibn Ḥamdīn. Born in 439/1047-8, he was appointed *qāḍī al-jamā'a* at Cordova in Sha'bān 490 (July-August, 1097), the first of his family to be judge there, and filled the post till his death 27 Muḥarram 508 (3rd July, 1114).

¹ Also in the *Iḥāta*.

² The famous Almoravid governor of Spain Yaḥya b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Masūfī f543/1148 ; see *EI.*, Ibn Ghāniya. At that date Almoravid governors of provinces often bore the title "sultan". The verses on Ibn Ghāniya have not been published before.

His eldest son Abu 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad succeeded him 508/1114 till 511/1117 and again from 519/1125 to 521/1127. His second son Abū Ja'far Ḥamdīn was judge of Cordova from 529/1134-5. When he was dismissed in 532/1137-8, his place was taken by Abu 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rushd. In 539/1144-5 he took the lead in the revolt against the Almoravids. It was this last Ibn Ḥamdīn and his elder brother whom Ibn Quzmān the younger lauded in his vernacular panegyrics.

The *Mughrib* is divided into a large number of books, sections, and paragraphs, each with its own title in rhymed prose. Apart from these many divisions, various headings, each provided with a name drawn from dress, jewellery, or furniture, indicate essays on some aspect of literary history. *Ahdāb* (fringes) always denotes quotations from *muwashshaḥs* or *zajals*. Under this heading in connection with Cordova are five pages, a precious anthology of the verse of Ibn Quzmān the younger in the vernacular; and no one has dreamed of utilizing them. There are eleven fragments of *zajals*, several not yet published. They will have their place in the edition and translation mentioned above. They show that the manuscript, the *unicum*, has suffered from bad mistakes of copyists, especially the Spanish parts.

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Najran Inscriptions

By H. St. J. B. PHILBY AND A. S. TRITTON

(PLATES XIV AND XV)

ALL the epigraphic material dealt with in this note was recorded in and about the oasis of Najran, situated in the Wadi of the same name at the point where it begins to leave the mountains and to splay out into the great south desert of Arabia. The oasis lies at an altitude of 4,500 feet above sea-level between rugged granite and basalt walls surmounted by a frieze of reddish, rather friable, sandstone averaging 300 feet in thickness with peaks rising out of it to a further height of about 200 feet. The highest points are about 2,000 feet above the valley or 6,500 feet above sea-level. This layer of sandstone overlies the igneous rock of the foundations over a considerable area—westward to near the summit of the main mountain range, northwards right up into Najd, and southwards far into the Yaman. It has obviously played an important part in human history by providing relatively easy trade and invasion routes through an otherwise forbidding tract of granite mountains.

From the earliest times Najran must have been, as it still is, a nodal point in the communications between south and north Arabia. The old spice road from Hadhramaut and the strategic route from Marib, both skirting the eastern fringe of these mountains, meet at Najran. Here they are joined by another route coming up from the Red Sea coast by way of the difficult pass of 'Alb and the important town of Sa'da, whence the track descends a tributary of Wadi Najran and that valley itself to the oasis. Yet another route links Najran with San'a and so ultimately with Aden. This route traverses the sandstone plateau, passing through a series of oasis settlements, which relieve the traveller of all anxiety regarding water. Another important south-north route, which by-passes Najran altogether, is the historic "Road of the Elephant", which runs up from San'a via Sa'da to Dhahran and thence to Bisha, Turaba, and Mecca. This was the normal route of the Yamani pilgrim-caravan and was joined at Dhahran by a camel-track from Najran, but in modern times pilgrims from Najran tend rather to use the motor-road, which skirts the eastern fringe of the highlands via Hima, Wadi Tathlith, Bisha, Ranya, and Khurma.

The importance of Najran can be readily appreciated from its position on the principal routes of ancient and modern times. It is therefore not surprising that a great city should have grown up in the oasis, the famous city known to Islamic history as Ukhdud. And it is equally little surprising that Najran should have become an important centre of the old pagan cult of these parts. About sixteen miles east of the oasis in the midst of a vast plain of firm sand the low basalt hill of Taslal, bountifully provided with permanent rock-pools, presents ample evidence of having been a centre of religious pilgrimage. In many respects there is an astonishing resemblance between this area and the plain of 'Arafat similarly spreading out from the hillock of Jabal al Rahma. The principal difference is that, while the Meccan Ka'ba and Mataf are situated about nine miles from 'Arafat, the Ka'ba of Najran and its Mataf are to be found at the base of the Taslal hill.

On all the routes above mentioned ample epigraphic evidence is to be found of the travels of man from the earliest times to the present day. Wherever suitable writing material is available man tends to leave some record, at least of his name, to posterity. But all the material with which we are here concerned was found by me either in Ukhdud and other parts of the Najran oasis or on the sandstone cliffs overlooking the valley at the termini of the main track from San'a, which descends to the oasis through two passes known respectively as Nahuqa and Nahiqua. The former is the easier and more popular descent, and the summit of the pass is marked by an extensive cemetery of obvious antiquity; but the epigraphic material found here is relatively scanty and fragmentary. Incidentally it may be remarked that Joseph Halévy left Najran by this route (probably by night) and did not apparently notice any of the inscriptions though he mentions the tombs. There are some Hebrew writings in this area, but probably of quite recent date. Somewhat paradoxically the Nahiqua pass, which descends quite precipitously to the valley, provides an enormous mass of graffiti for our study. The reason for this is perhaps to be found in the fact that it was at this point that the traveller from the south obtained his first full view of the great oasis and its famous capital, lying almost at his feet. Thus he may well have made his votive scribbles as he rested in the sandstone grottos during the heat of the day, awaiting the cool of the evening for his actual descent to Ukhdud. In the city and its neighbourhood there are

but few inscriptions to be found on the surface ; and we shall have to wait for the spade to lay bare the treasures which must certainly be buried in the ruins of the town, apparently destroyed finally in the sixth century A.D. Joseph Halévy, during his sojourn in Najran in A.D. 1870, found only thirteen inscriptions (mostly mere fragments) in this area, and I rediscovered all but three or four of them. He did not, however, go further afield than the oasis itself, and therefore missed all the Nahuqa and Nahiqa material which I was able to collect. In all I recorded some 134 groups of graffiti, which form the subject of this note.

The Najran oasis, with a length and width of about fifteen and two miles respectively, is roughly situated in Lat. N. $17^{\circ} 30'$ between Long. E. $44^{\circ} 05'$ and $44^{\circ} 20'$. The epigraphic material collection by me in the course of my travels extends somewhat intermittently far to the north and south of this point as well as westward, comprising some 474 items in addition to the Najran records. About 100 of these have already been published by Dr. Ryckmans, of Louvain, and Mr. A. F. L. Beeston, of Oxford. The remainder are doubtless of limited interest, and the only item requiring mention here is the long but badly mutilated inscription from Hima. This locality is an important well about 60 miles N.N.E. of Najran on the main caravan track (now also the motor road) to Abha and Bisha. From this well another track forks north-eastward across the desert to Wadi Dawasir and Sulaiyil, which until recently were the entrepôts of the coffee trade between the Yaman and central Najd. Rock-pictures and graffiti are plentiful on the sandstone cliffs which line the main road from Hima for about 20 miles in the barren valley of Najd Sahi. Above that point, however, little of epigraphic interest is to be found until the Taif-Mecca district is reached about 150 miles away. This is possibly to be explained by the fact that the road at the head of Najd Sahi passes out of the favourable sandstone area into the igneous rocks of the main mountain system.

These writings are graffiti ; only one or two deserve to be called inscriptions. They were scratched on the sandstone which is often badly weathered. Largely they are the work of uneducated people ; most letters have the normal south Arabian forms or recognizable variants of them, but some are turned upside down, e.g. Ψ and unsymmetrical ones may face either to the right or the left. Some are strange, showing connections with the alphabets of Lihyan,

Thamud, or Safa. It is not certain that one strange sign always stands for the same sound.

Most of the graffiti seem to be names only; occasionally there is a wish. Some seem to be magical letters (*Muséon*, v, 50, p. 249). The mystic "Father Wadd" or "Wadd is father" occurs. The king Ma'dik(arib) in no. 124g cannot be identified; presumably he was a subordinate chieftain. (Nielsen, *Handbuch*, 104, n. 3).

Mr. Philby's discoveries are numbered consecutively; 77 to 89 are in *Sheba's Daughters*, 90 bis to 99 are duplicates of Halevy's finds; 100 is in Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, v. 2, p. 528. These follow on.

Among the names which occur the following are familiar from other South Arabian inscriptions:—

Σοι	𐩦𐩣𐩪	𐩶𐩵𐩦𐩥
Χ)𐩶	𐩦𐩣𐩶𐩵	𐩶𐩵𐩦𐩥
(𐩶)𐩦𐩶)𐩶	(𐩶)𐩶𐩵𐩦	𐩦𐩶𐩵𐩦
𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩵	𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶)𐩶𐩶
𐩦)𐩶𐩦	𐩶)𐩶𐩶	𐩶𐩵𐩦𐩶
𐩦)𐩶	𐩶𐩶)𐩶𐩶	𐩶𐩶𐩶
𐩶𐩦𐩦𐩶	𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶	Χ𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶
𐩶𐩵𐩦𐩶	𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩶𐩶𐩶
)Χ𐩶	𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩦𐩶𐩶
𐩶𐩦𐩶	𐩦𐩶𐩶	𐩶)𐩶
𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶	Χ𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶
𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	Χ𐩶𐩶𐩶
𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	? 𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶
)𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩦𐩦𐩦𐩶𐩶	𐩶𐩦𐩦
𐩶𐩦𐩶𐩶	𐩶)𐩶𐩶	(𐩶𐩶𐩶)
𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩦𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶	𐩦𐩦)𐩦
𐩦𐩦𐩶𐩶	Χ𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶)𐩶𐩶
		𐩶𐩶)𐩦

The following names occur in the northern dialects (T = Thamud; L = Lihyan; S = Safa).

L.)𐩶𐩶	S. 𐩶)𐩶𐩶
T. (𐩶)𐩶𐩶𐩶	T. 𐩦𐩶𐩶𐩶𐩶
S. 𐩦𐩶𐩶?	L. 𐩶𐩶)𐩦
S.)𐩶𐩶𐩶	L.T. 𐩦)𐩶

L. 𐤒𐤓	S. 𐤒𐤒
T. 𐤒𐤓𐤒	S. 𐤒𐤓
S. 𐤒	L. 𐤒𐤒
(T. 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓) 𐤒𐤓	T. 𐤒𐤓𐤒
S. 𐤒𐤓	𐤓𐤓𐤒
L. 𐤒𐤓𐤓	T. 𐤓𐤓)
T. 𐤒𐤓𐤓	S. 𐤒𐤓)
	S. 𐤒𐤒

101. A fragment of an inscription (boustrophedon):—

← 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓

→ 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓

RB'L WTR son of . . . towns RYMN.

It looks as if RB'L does not occur in combination with WTR so it is tempting to supply another letter and read KRB'L, the well-known name. For 𐤒𐤓)𐤓, cf. 77 (*Sheba's Daughters*, p. 445).

102. BLKBR

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒

perhaps Bal Kubār on the analogy of بلحارث a contraction of بنو الحارث.

103. 𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒 'BRŠ

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒

N BKN QDMW

𐤓𐤓𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒

NBTm

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒 'BRŠ . . . while they advanced to NBTm. The name 𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒 is given by Jaussen and Savignac and also occurs in no. 135.

104.

𐤒𐤒

𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤒

If the first three letters belong to the second line they may be the personal pronoun first person singular, its first occurrence.

I, 𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒 of (the family) 'ZWY. On 'ZWY see Hartmann, *Arabische Frage*, 296.

105.

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒 𐤒𐤓) 𐤓𐤓)

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒

𐤒𐤒𐤒

RŠ'; MRT; 𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒; of DMD; NMRN.

RŠN occurs as a name.

MRT is the Arabic مَرَّة.

𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒 as above.

135*b*. 'RM slave of ḤM'TT.

ḤM'TT ḤM'TT

'RM has not appeared before in inscriptions.

136.

← ΠΥΘΙΧΨ ΧΛΗΙΩΨ
→ ΠΙΠΘ(ϕ)

Locusts came to this and the grain was green; cf. متح used of locusts planting their eggs in the ground.

137*a*. Slave of ŠMS—a new name.

ḤM'TT

b.

1ḤΠ) . . ḤM'TT

MRḤMW the slave of (YK)RB'L or MRḤM and the slave of (YK)RB'L.

138*a*. ḤM'TT adjective formed from the name 'ḤRM.

b. WDRSM

ḤM'TT

New: "Wadd wrote."

c. 'BDYḤ

ΨM'TT

Cf. ḤM'TT (Minæan); queried by Ryckmans.

d. LHYLHYŠ

ΣΨΨΨΨ

This may be a case of a false start; in either case no explanation is obvious.

Cf. no. 139*a* LHMYL'S

ḤM'TT

ḤM'TT is a Minæan name.

139*b*. Perhaps MŠND ŠR

ḤM'TT

140*a*. ŠLM saved MTB.

ΠΣΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ

The two first words occur in no. 124*b*. ŠLM was a god of Thamud.

139*c*. ŠLM. occurs again.

ŠLM advanced 'BDN (or, the servant).

ḤM'TT

b. Luck to MQLḤ (new name)

ΨM'TT

c. Health to K'B

ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ

d.

ΣΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ

TSD is not known. Should YSD be read?

BKR is a place-name in South Arabian; cf. بكر.

WBS occurs in Sufa; cf. وابش.

115*a*. DPKBD 'MNN

ḤM'TT

Who made heavy security.

The next four are easy to read but hard to explain.

141. MSDM, MBNW

ḤM'TT

142. TW'R

ḤM'TT

1361 8 1361
 132 132
 109 109
 156 156
 155 155
 147 147
 149 149
 133 133
 151 151
 153 153
 145 145
 138e 138e

143a. SBY^M

𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢

144. MLKMRF

𐩇𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

145. (pl. XIV) might be restored to 'MRSM'

𐩇𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

It may be objected that in compounds known previously 'MR is always the second member.

135d. (pl. XIV) one may suggest
SBR DR'TN.

𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

SBR is a personal and tribal name in Thamud ; the second word may be read in several ways.

146, 139e may be magical letters (pl. XV).

135c, 147, 148, 156. One can offer no suggestions for the interpretation of these (pls. XIV and XV).

137b, 149. Look like collections of letters (pls. XIV and XV).

150. 'MSBM

𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

No explanation is hazarded.

Some words that end in Y may be grouped together, though more than one explanation of some is possible.

151. HNKMY 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢 140e. GYŠMY 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

152. ŠWMY 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢 139d. SYQY 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

143b. K'BY 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢 or S'BY 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

The name S'B occurs in Thamūd.

125b. S'DHMY

𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

"Good luck to them."

153. 'MWKK (new)

𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

Cf. 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢 to thrust (pl. XIV). 'MWKS is possible.

154a. Perhaps 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢 'ŠW'L.

This is new though 'ŠW' occurs alone (pl. XIV). 155 perhaps 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢; 'LHMY, not new (pl. XIV). 138e perhaps 𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢 though it is not known as a name (pl. XIV).

154b. ŠWRKYSD

𐩦𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢𐩦𐩥𐩢

This does not look like a name and there is no hint that it accompanied a drawing. ŠWR means "picture, statue".

Note.—Four numbers are not from Najran : 101 from Duraib, 133 Asahil, 150 Khirbet Saud, 149 Qarn al Bina.

A Motif in Indonesian Art

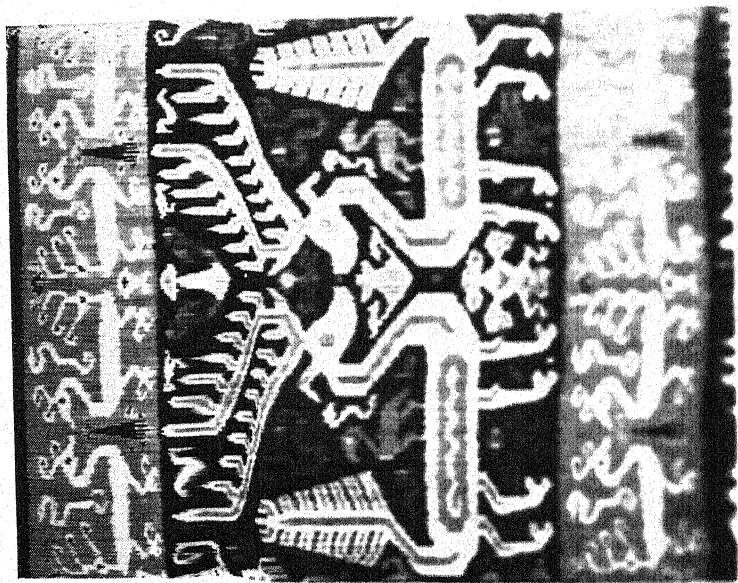
By R. O. WINSTEDT

(PLATES XVI AND XVII)

THERE are many isolated *data* in the Malay Archipelago that still await scientific explanation. Dr. G. de Hevesy claimed to have discovered a kinship between the script of Easter Island and that of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro (*Bulletin de la Société préhistorique Française*, 1933, Nos. 7-8; *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, E. R. Hunter, London, 1934); Sir Elliot Smith detected Egyptian influence in the banners of Alur Islands (*Human History*, 1930, p. 339); Dr. Paul Rivet discovered a Sumerian element in Oceanian languages (*Proceedings of the Fourth Pacific Science Congress*, Batavia, 1930, vol. iii, pp. 519-527). And to these unsolved problems may be added the art *motif* of a bird perched on an animal.

It is suggested that the first traces of this *motif* are to be found in Sumerian art of the third millennium, where it is a bull or bull-man that is depicted with a bird on his back. When the horse was introduced to the East, horse and bull became interchangeable (O. Jansé, "Le cheval cornu et la boule magique," *Ipek*, 1935, pp. 66 ff.), and the horse occasionally is horned or was buried with a bull's mask, while in the second and first millennia any horned animal, such as a deer, took the place of the bull. There is a bird perched on a deer on a Syro-Hittite seal of the second millennium B.C. (Pl. XVIIb), and a bird on a horned horse with a wisp of something hanging down from its mouth on an Iranian pottery jug of the ninth century B.C. from Sialk in Persia (Pl. XVIIc). Round about 700 B.C. the *motif* became common in Greek geometric art, both in pottery and in bronze: there is a deer with a bird on his back in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This Greek geometric art has found many parallels in proto-Elamite pottery and in Luristan models. The *motif* of the bird on the animal spread over the whole northern Near East from the Caucasus to Iran and Luristan, and over Asia Minor to Greece. Originally it may have had a magical significance.

For this comparative sketch I am indebted to a well-illustrated

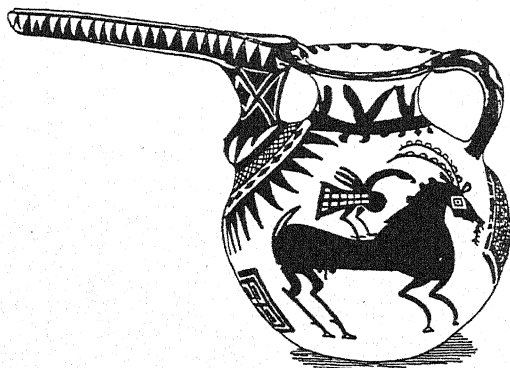




a



b



c

and documented paper by Berta Segall (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. xli, No. 246, December, 1943). It serves to introduce an account of this ancient *motif* on cloths woven in the Malay archipelago by the women of Sumba Island. My own small collection exhibits both a bird perched on a deer (Pl. XVIa) and a bird perched on another bird, a cock (Pl. XVIb).

In two of the Sumba cloths where birds are perched on cocks birdless horses also occur in a row above: and in Pl. XVIb they are tied by a loose rein to a post, just as the two horses on a Greek geometric pottery bowl in the National Museum, Athens (Pl. XVIIa) are fastened to a barred gate-like panel. For in several examples of Greek geometric art where horse and bird are found, there is not a short wisp as in the Sialk jug (Pl. XVIIc) but a long rein-like object in the horse's mouth.

With regard to the short wisp in the mouth of the ninth century Sialk horse, it is probably fanciful to note that in one Sumba cloth (Pl. XVIb) the cock has an elongation to his beak absent in my other specimen and foreign to the anatomy of cocks: it may be stylization for a worm.

In a famous Greek vase from Melos of the seventh century B.C. Miss Segall stated in her article that there was, in addition to a bird, a snake immediately behind the neck of the horse, which is a winged quadruped. But she is now of opinion that instead of a snake it is possibly a griffin and the decorative terminal of the chariot pole. There are snakes over the two rows of birds in Pl. XVIa and on the same cloth snakes complete with eyes along the flanks of the deer and also immediately behind their necks, with perhaps larger snakes above the heads of the birds: possibly the cloud of Chinese art has influenced the pattern. In Pl. XVIb there are what look like stylized snakes above the horses' backs, and on another Sumba cloth in my possession there is a snake under the belly of a deer on whose back is perched a bird. At any rate the persistence of the bird and deer as an art *motif* in Sumba weaving lends colour to the view that originally the association had a magical significance and the pattern was more than a casual trade borrowing.

In the absence of archaic parallels no inference can be drawn from the fact that in these Sumba cloths, while cock and deer are in profile, horses are always depicted with full mask-like faces and exaggerated manes or ears.

One hesitates to hazard a guess that the huge stylized tails by

which the weavers have improved the natural deer might be survivals of wings, and that the cocks might be the rationalized descendants of winged quadrupeds, as found for example on the Syro-Hittite seal (Pl. XVIIb).

Notable artistic merits are the proud carriage of the deer, the stand-at-ease of the ponies, and the alertness of the cocks.

The Murder of the Magi

By W. B. HENNING

WHEN the Persians, led by Darius, had slain Gaumāta the Magian and a great number of his colleagues (. . . . ἔκτεινον ὁκοῦ τινὰ μάγον εὕρισκον), they instituted an annual feast to remind the Magians of their humiliation : it was called τὰ μαγοφόνια (Herodotus, iii, 79), or ἡ μαγοφονία (Ctesias, *epit. Photii* 15, § 46 ed. Gilmore). Gilmore (p. 149 n.) wisely remarked that "the agreement of Herodotus and Ctesias makes it impossible to doubt the existence of this strange custom". Ctesias, after having stayed at the Persian court for seventeen years, could not help knowing whether or not such a feast existed, and he would never have foregone the opportunity of correcting his predecessor.

In spite of this, however, J. Marquart thought that Herodotus' (and Ctesias') story was based merely on a misunderstanding. The Persians, he suggested, did have a great feast on (or close to) the 10th of *Bāgayādi* (the date of Gaumāta's death) which was called **Baga-yāda* "sacrifice to Baga" and was devoted to the adoration of Baga = Mithra; it represented the feast known in later times under the name of *Miθrakāna* (*Mihrgān*) which was held at the beginning of autumn. Greek observers, misled by the coincidence of that feast with the anniversary of the murder of Gaumāta, misinterpreted its Persian name and thus invented the *Magophonia*.¹

One may feel some regret in thus finding one of the more colourful bits of historical tradition consigned to the critical scrapheap, and therefore prefer the compromise solution recently put forward by S. H. Taqizadeh.² According to this scholar there may have been two feasts close to each other, the **Bagayāda-Mihrgān* on the day of the autumnal equinox, and the *Magophonia* on the 10th of *Bāgayādi*. In the year of Gaumāta's death, 522 B.C., both dates would have fallen on the same day, or possibly on consecutive days : the conspirators may have chosen a feast-day for the execution of their plot, "when the court was expected to indulge in pleasure

¹ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, i, 64 ; ii, 132, 135-6.

² *Old Iranian Calendars*, 39 sq., 44 sq.

and was less on its guard." With the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar about 441 B.C. both feasts were united as the "lesser" and the "greater" *Mihrgān*, on the 16th and 21st of the month of *Mīhr*.¹

We may do well, however, to remind ourselves on what flimsy foundation the structure is built which Marquart has erected around the presumed feast of **Bagayāda*. Its basis is merely an etymology of the name of the Old Persian month of *Bāgayādi*, an etymology which has little to recommend itself, judged either from the point of view of word-formation,² or from the general character of the other Old Persian month-names (purely agricultural names).³ The further assumption that *baga* (if indeed that word entered into the compound) had the value of another name for Mithra, is unsupported by any⁴ evidence as far as Western Iran is concerned; in a limited sense it can be admitted only for

¹ On the other hand, the double feast of *Mihrgān* may owe its origin merely to the mistake made when the epagomenæ were shifted from the end of the year to the end of the first month, at the occasion of the first intercalation (cf. the Lesser and Greater *Naurōz*). The mistake would make itself felt after the epagomenæ were placed at the end of (or, at any rate, after) the month of *Mīhr*, i.e. after the seventh intercalation, about A.D. 400. This, therefore, should be the earliest date for the division of the *Mihrgān*. Beruni, *Chron.*, 224², mentions Hormizd I in this connection (not Hormizd IV, Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 45, n. 4). To speak of a "five-day feast of *Magophonia*" as Marquart did (i, 64), is incorrect. Herodotus clearly says that the feast occupied a single day.—A different case is presented by the Lesser and Greater *Tiragān* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 220²⁰). Cf. the Manichæan fragment M 16 in which (verso, line 2) we have to restore 'wd n'm ['y tyr] rwc 'y wzrg "And *Nebīyā* in his book has mentioned the name of the 'Great *Tīr-rōz*' for this reason that a great and mighty work is performed on that fourteenth day".

² Not counting *θāigrēi* (of uncertain etymology), *Bāgayādi* would be the only case of *vrddhi* in an Old Persian month-name. A form from \sqrt{yaz} corresponding to *-yādi* is unknown elsewhere in Iranian. A parallel is often drawn between *Bāgayādi* and *Āθriyādiya* although the endings differ. In no case could the latter mean "(month) of fire-worship": there is no such word as **āθri-* "fire". According to Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm.*, 65, 154, the original form was **āθr-yādiya*; this would represent pre-Iranian **ātr-yāziya* which, however, could appear in OPers. only as **āt(a)ryādiya*: *-tr-* becomes *-θr-* in Iranian only where a vowel follows. Bartholomæ more correctly assumed **āθriya* as first part of the compound (pre-Iranian **ātriya*). But this means "ashes", not "fire": who would worship ashes?

³ With this in view one might prefer to find Old Iranian *bāga* "lot; allotment; cultivated land" (Sogdian *bāy*, Persian *bāy*, etc.) in the first part of the compound. *-yādi* may be connected with Vedic *yādamāna*, Skt. *yādas*, etc. Thus, *bāgayādi* possibly = "fertilizing the farmland", or even "irrigation of the gardens".

⁴ For *Bagay-arič* (*Bagay-arin*) see Marquart's own remarks, loc. cit., ii, 133 n.

Sogdiana¹ and Khwarezm² in late Achæmenian times.³ In Old Persian *baga* is "deity" in general,⁴ and in particular the attribute of Ahura Mazda. How little, in Western Iran, the epithet of *baga* clung to Mithra's name, is shown by the Manichæan texts (which reflect the usage of the third century A.D.) in which Mithra is always called *yazd* (*Mihryazd*), while *baga* forms an ingredient of Ahura Mazda's (and other deities') names (*Ohrmizdbag*, *Ohrmizdbai*). Finally, the projection of the later feast of *Mihrgān* into remote antiquity is open to objection. Ctesias is the first to mention such a feast,⁵ without however connecting it in any way with the feast of Magophonia.⁶ It was in Ctesias' time that the cult of Mithra gained wider acceptance among the Persians: there is no reason to believe that a feast dedicated to that deity had any importance for them long before Artaxerxes II.

However that may be, the case for the verity of Herodotus' statement will be strengthened by proving that an exact replica of the word *μαγοφονία* (*μαγοφονία*) existed in Iranian. Such a word occurs in the Manichæan-Sogdian fragment T M 393 (published here for the first time), as *mwyzt-* (line 27). As the Sogdian text is evidently a translation made from Middle Persian (or Parthian), it is somewhat difficult to decide whether *mwyzt-* is a genuine Sogdian word or merely transliterated from the Middle Persian.⁷ Whichever may be true there is little doubt that *mwyzt-* is not a recent composition,⁸ but continues an Old Iranian word **magu-žati* = *μαγοφονία*.

¹ *Bayakān* = *Mihrmāh*. In what way *Baypūr* = *devaputra* = *t'ien-tsū* could point to the equation of *Bay* = *Mithra* (Marquart, loc. cit., ii, 134), escapes me.

² *βιγ* = *Mihrrōz* (Tačizadeh, loc. cit., 38, n. 2).

³ At the time of the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar in those provinces.

⁴ Hence also applicable to Mithra. For the Avesta see Benveniste, *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran*, 22 sq.

⁵ Athenæus, *Dipnosoph.*, x, 434e ("on a single day").

⁶ As S. H. Tačizadeh rightly stresses, loc. cit., 45.

⁷ The correctly transliterated form should have been **mwyzd*, but the translator may have Sogdianized it. The Sogdian script does not distinguish between -z and -ž.

⁸ "to kill" is *ōzadan* in Middle Persian (beside *kuštan*); in Sogdian, *žan-*, *žit-* is hardly used, except for "striking" string instruments.—I take this opportunity to correct the reading of the Middle Persian fragment M 177 (Mueller, *H.R.*, ii, 89) where *'wzy'n* (*recto*, line 11) is written as a single word: "There are nine varieties of slaughtering. Firstly, he who himself kills. Secondly, he who attempts it. Thirdly, he who impels (others to it), etc." *'wzy'n* = Parthian *'wzy'n* "slaughter" (thus to be corrected, *BSOS.*, ix, 80) = Sogd. *'wzy'n* (*wžy'n*), from *ava-žaya-* (*-ghnyō-*?).

Sogdian *muyzt-* in the Manichæan text means "killing the Magians", but not "the feast devoted to remembrance of that act". The murder of the Magi is here ascribed to Alexander: this agrees well with the Zoroastrian tradition in which Alexander always appeared as a monster of iniquity who burnt the sacred books and massacred the priests.¹ The Magians naturally desired to let the true origin of the **Mayu-žati* fall into oblivion,² and therefore hastened to transfer the evil deed to the person of the hated conqueror. The Manichæans, of course, derived their information from the Zoroastrian priests.³

The Sogdian fragment in which the **Mayu-žati* is mentioned enumerates the "greatest sinners in history", those who interfered with the mission of the inspired prophets. To make the text understandable, it may be worth while to recapitulate the Manichæan prophetology. Mani based his teaching on revelation. The object of the divine inspirations he had received, was to make known the true state of the world to mankind. God had granted similar revelations to earlier prophets, Adam, Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, and others. But the content of all revelations, whether received by Mani or by his predecessors, was the same: they emanated from the same source and were given for the same purpose. Consequently Christianity, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Manichæism must have been one and the same religion. This was Mani's firm belief, and his conviction was in no way disturbed by the deplorable fact (which he could not and did not fail to observe) that those religions were very different from each other. Casting round for a reason to account for this strange diversity, he evolved his theory of the "corruption" of the earlier religions. The prophets had failed to take due precautions for ensuring the continuity of their teachings; they had written no books or too few books; their first disciples already had misunderstood them, and the misunderstandings had multiplied from generation to generation; lastly, the evil powers had been busy sending their emissaries to increase the confusion, so that in the end the kernel of truth was completely lost in the medley of error. From the Manichæan point of view, the traditional

¹ Cf. Markwart, *Suedarmenien*, 536 sqq., Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 151 sqq.

² Agathias complains that they were all too successful in this (*Hist.*, ii, 25, pp. 122 sq.).

³ In Greek sources Alexander is a model of toleration. Cf. especially the Syriac *Hist. of Alex.*, ed. Budge, ii, 13 (transl. 82-3).

enemies of the other religions were not greater sinners than their apostles, teachers, and propagators. All of them were equally guilty of leading mankind astray from the path of the truth. Thus we find the murderous Devadatta joined by King Aśoka and the pious Upagupta (?), or the name of the venerable Žamāsp coupled with that of the accursed Alexander.

Among the enemies of Zoroaster is included one *Kūyōne* (or *Kōyōne*, -e from -ak), "the son of Ahriman." As far as I know, no such name is mentioned in other sources.¹ This is puzzling because the other personages enumerated in the Manichæan text are very well known indeed. However, the name recurs in another Manichæan-Sogdian fragment, M 549, the text of which will be found at the end of this article. Its purport is not very clear, but it seems to be concerned with some heathenish practices. The "Lady *Nana*" (or *Nan*), in line 20 of that fragment, may be the goddess *Nana(i)*.² The town (?) of *Žimat*³ reminds one of Hsüan-ts'ang's 銳秣陀 *Žuei-mei-to* (*Iwāi-muāt-d'ā*),⁴ Ibn Khurdābeh's الزمشان,⁵ to the south-west of Balkh.

TM 393

Sogdian ⁶ script of the late type. Caption: V *ny'wš'k'n'k* R *wy-δβ'γ* = "Homily addressed to laymen". The appending folio (not published here) contains a *ky'n wβr's* = "discourse on the soul".⁷

(R 1) δ'rδ rty wy'nš L' βyrtw-δ'rδ rty c'n'kw (2) prm tnp'r RBkm'nyty wm'tsδ rtēnn tnp'r(-) (3) mycy š't'wy'kh pyδ'r ZKn γrβ w'tδ'r (4) 'z-w'nh z-ytδ'rδ ZY š'twγw ZY wyš'nty-t (5) 'krtsδ

¹ The name given by Zātspram, xxiii, 8 (xxv, 2, ed. Anklesaria), cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 94, can hardly be compared. This goes also for *Agonaces* (?), Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxx, 1 (2), 4. The name of *Kōyan-ābād* (capital of Bādgēs, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 150; *Wehrot*, 40) is scarcely pertinent.

² See my *Sogdica*, p. 7. Cf. *Hist. of Alexander*, ed. Budge, 204⁷ (transl. p. 115). δβ'mbn recalls MPers. *bānūk* as epithet of Anāhitā; cf. Hoffmann, *Martyrer*, 155; Greek Agathangelus, 14⁷⁵, 15¹⁰⁰, 30⁵⁹.

³ This is also the name of the eleventh Sogdian month.

⁴ See Watters, i, 113 sq.

⁵ 37⁹, in the tax-list of 'Abdullāh b. Tāhir. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 227.

⁶ [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOS.*, xi, p. 56.

⁷ An interesting sentence from that "discourse" may be quoted here: *rimukr ZK wyspy rw'n ZY prwty š't cym'yδ mrd'sp'nt βyšty βrks'k ynt rišn wty γypδ tmy βnt* "All souls and Fravashis are cut from those element-gods; they are their own seed".

rty 'kdry γwδk'r p'r'γsδ 'wy-h (6) δywyty dsty-' tβn γw L' z'ty L' (7) δwγth po'yty L' wδwh L' pryš L' (8) mr'z L' γwtyγwyšt'kw ZY L' šyrywz-'kw (9) [L]' γw γz-ny γ-r'm'kw L' 'sp'neh L' (10) (Z)K š'yknw L' γns s'r'βγ^{sic} L' šyr'kk (11) pršt'kw L' γw z-yacykw 'spy p'rZ-Yšn (12) wyspn'čw pry ZK yw'r 'krty ZY 'wyh (13) [t]myh 'wptsδ^{sic} 1 rty 'kdry dymyδ tm'yk 'try (14) swysδ'k'm ZY rm 'tδrmnw ZY δywyty pr'γw pr (15) 'ykwacykw βntw βstyty βwδ'k'm oo oo

(16) rty γw 'prtmcykw 'psypw w'β'ky ZY 'krt'ny (-) (17) k'r'kw ZKh mrtynh wm't [k]y ZY 'dry y'wr (18) ZKw 'δ'm enn dyny nyšk'w [ZY ZK] 2 'prtm'wh (19) ptyw'nkwy γh kynh wm'tw [ky ZY ZKw γypδ] (20) 'HYw 3 ptywstδ'rty ZY γwy-(r)[sny kyr'n cynt'r?] (21) ZKw 'prtmw γnt'kw γh '(δ)[4 about 10 letters] (22) 'kδ'r'ntw ky ZY ZKw pr'mn'neh [δynh nštw] (23) δ'r'nty ZY 'w δs z-nk'nw pty'r prw ['βc'npδ] (24) 'wst'tw δ'r'nt oo rtyw δβtykw ['psypw] (25) w'β'kw γw z-m'spw wm't ky [ZY prw] (V 26) 'z-r'wšcw psypw wytwδ'rty rtyw nksynt^{sic} (27) MLK' 5 ky ZY mwyz-tw 'kδ'rty rtyw kwγ-w'n'kw (28) ZK 'tδrmnw z-'t'k ky ZKw mwγ'neh δynh (29) nštwδ'rty oo ZY 'št'ykw 'ps'ypw w'β'k (30) γw wpr'tt šmny wm'tw rtyw šwk' MLKysic 6 (31) ky prw š'kmnw, pwt'y 'ps'ypw wytw δ'rt (32) ZY ms γw tyβδ'tty 'krt'nk'r'y ky [Z]Kw (33) pwt'y δynh nštwδ'rty oo ZY ctβ'r-mykh^{sic} (34) 'psypw w'β'kw γw 'škr'y-wt' wm't k(y) (35) prw mšyγ' 'spypw^{sic} wγδ'rty rtms 'k[rt]('n)y (36) k'reh γh s'tt'nh z-wyš'neh ky ZY 'w (37) trs'k'neh δynh nštw δ'rty rtms tym (38) 'nytw 'krt'ny kr'yty wm't'ntw ky 'tšn (39) ZKh 'z-h 'tyw 'tδrmnw β'r'yeykw z-γtw (40) δ'rty rty prw pwt'yšty ZY rγ'ntty ZY prw (41) 'rt'wty dynδ'rty ZY pr šyr'krtyty mrtymyty (42) 'ps'ypw wyt(wδ'r)ty^{sic} rty y'ntt w'β (43) 'krt'ny kr('yt)[rm] 'tδrmnw pr'w^{sic} prwh^{sic} (44) ['ykwacykw βntw] βstyty βntk'm w'n'kw ZY (45) [about 14 letters] βntk'm oo oo (46) [about 15]kw p'z-ny δrm'ykw γwβw ZK (47) [about 12]ntw rywšny βr'yšt'kw βγ'y mr (48) [m'ny w'n'] (kw) prmtδ'rty kw ny'wš'kt s'r (49) [kδ' βn] (r)yz-'tk'm rty ny'wšδ 'tβn prβ'yr'n (50) [about 8 letters + w](r)nkyntw ny'wš'kty ky ZY ZKw mn'

1 *ōpatsθ* shortened from *ōpastsθ*.

2 Not sufficient space for ZY ZKh.

3 *γyw*. Cf. P 2, 149; P 12, 62, etc.

4 'δ[: δ rather doubtful.

5 *mδk'*.

6 *mδky*.

Translation

(First section)¹ " . . . and you have failed to obtain redemption. While in that body you were arrogant,² and for the pleasure of the body you took the lives of many beings and even enjoyed it. But now you are left to yourselves, alone in the hands of the demons : neither son nor daughter can help you, neither wife nor concubine,³ neither hireling nor friend⁴ nor well-wisher, neither treasure nor wealth,⁵ neither hostel nor palace nor a firm tower,⁶ neither good

¹ The first part of the text is an imaginary address to sinners upon their arrival in hell (lines 1-15). It was inserted in a lecture on sin and sinners given (supposedly) by Mani to an assembly of *auditores* (see the caption). The main section (lines 16-45), concluding the lecture, gives a list of the greatest sinners of history. With line 46 a new chapter begins : its few remaining words show that the fragment formed part of a collection of addresses similar in style to the *Kephalaia*. Cf. also the Sogdian text in *BSOS.*, xi, 69 sq.

² Lit. "while you were in that body as arrogant ones, you took . . .".

³ The signification of *pryś* is not known. An older form, *pryrś*, occurs twice in the colophon of P 8. The man who ordered the manuscript, Čurak the son of N'pt'yr, of the Xan (γ'n) family, invokes the blessings of heaven on the members of his family, beginning with his grandfather (ny''k 'BY') and his grandmother (ny'k m'th). After having dealt with the living ones (172-6), he enumerates his deceased relations (178-186, a long list), amongst them his wife Māx-dāy (185). At the end, after friends, etc., and only before the "five classes of living beings of the Triloka", the 'sp'γśtk *pryrś* appear = "servants (and) slave-girls" (or "respectful slave-girls" ?). But later on (191) the *pryrś* occupy the first place : "may I, this slave Čurak, express the wish that together with the *pryrś* and the children and the whole family we all may be well, free from disease, pious, meritorious, etc."

⁴ γwtγwγšt'kw, lit. "self-wished", presumably = "friend". For the compound, cf. Skt. *sveṣṭa*. The word occurs in P 2, 151 (γwtγwšt'k), P 6, 91 (γwtγwšt'k), and P 8, 186 (γwtγwšt'yt, pl.), twice combined with šyrwz'h.

⁵ Sogdian *grāme* compares with Parthian *gr'mg* "possessions" (thus read in *Mir. Man.*, iii, a 13, p. 850, instead of *gr'g*) and Pahlavi *gl'mk* = *grāmag* which renders the Gathic *gr̥h̥ma*. The Pahlavi word which clearly cannot be regarded as a transliteration (that would be *gl'hm*), is explained as *χwāstag* (Y. 32¹², p. 141) = "possessions, wealth" (Neryosengh *lakṣmī*), and also as *pārag* "presents, bribe". Indeed, it would seem that *gr̥h̥ma* is merely an older form of *grāmag* (etc.). There is no reason for deviating from the Pahlavi version and taking *gr̥h̥ma* for a personal name or translating as "opferfresser". The stem is *gr̥h̥ma*-, n., in Y. 32¹² (*gr̥h̥mā* acc. pl., "the *karpan* preferred money, possessions to Right"), but *gr̥h̥mah*-, n. in 32¹³ ("they shall get that wealth in hell . . ."), and in 32¹⁴ ("even the Kavis have had an eye on his money"). Cf. also MPers. *grāmīg*, Pers. *girāmī* "treasured, valued, beloved".

⁶ Sogdian *sārvūγ* (see *BBE.*, p. 104) which translates Syr. *magdlā* (μάγδος), Matthew xxi, 33, Luke, xxiii, 4, links up with Pers. *sārvū(e)*, Arab. *sārvūq*, the name of several *labyrinthine* castles of great antiquity of which the most famous was the citadel of Gay (see Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 135; Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 196 sq., 201, 208 sq., 212 sq.; *Fārsnāme*, p. 29). The Sogdian would seem to support Marquart's proposal (loc. cit., p. 21, and *UGE.*, ii, 62 sq.) to find an older form

equipment nor a harnessed¹ horse—rather everything you loved is now mourning (?)² You have fallen into Hell and shall burn now in this hellish fire. Together with Ahriman and the demons you will be bound in the eternal prison.”

(*Second section*) (16–24) The first calumniator³ and sinner was *Martēn*⁴ (= Eve) who three times led⁵ Adam astray from the (true) religion, and the first murderer was Cain⁶ who killed his own brother. And in the East⁷ the first wicked deed was done by the

of this Iranian word in the mysterious *srwug* = *sūrbūg* in the “Hymn of the Soul” (*Acta Thomæ*), whose Greek equivalent is *λαβύρινθος*. Cf. also *λαβύρινθος* in a similar passage in the Acts of Cyriacus and Julitta (restored by W. E. Crum, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliv, 1943, p. 123, n. 1). Arab. *šarbūkah*, mentioned by Dr. Crum, belongs to modern Syrian Arabic (thus Belot s.v.), the “root” *šarbaka* being merely a development from Classical Arabic *šabbaka* (see Dozy).

¹ *zēn* = weapons, P 7, 152; P 13, 15; Man. *zyyn* M 133 V ii, 1; M 500m 10. Hardly here = saddle (as Pers. *zīn*) which in Sogd. is *pyrδn-*, P 13, 6, from **parid(h)āna-* = Persian *pālān* “packsaddle”, cf. Pers. *pālād* (also, wrongly, *bālād*) “a (pack-)horse” from **parid(h)āta-*. The reduction of -*δān* to -*dan* is normal in Sogdian; cf. also Wakhi *peden*, *pōδn* “saddle”, Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, ii, 533 (from **pōrδen*?). Note that *syh* VJ. 770, *Dhuta* 15, P 6, 138, is “wheel”, not “saddle” (the remark on *syh* is struck out in the copy of his paper in *J.A.*, 1936, i [p. 228], M. E. Benveniste very kindly sent me).

² This line is incomprehensible. There should be *cnn* before *wyspn'cw* (cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 99). There ought to be a pronoun referring to the sinners (viz. -*βn*, instead of -*šn*). Finally, *yw'r*, usually = “but, only”, also “except” (e.g. P 6, 67: *yw'r ZY nykyr'n cnn*), is troublesome. Probably there were two different words: 1. “but”, etc., 2. “sad(ness)” or “mourning” (hence comparable to Parthian *ww'r* = *wiwār*). See VJ., 1110: *rtiβn pr L' wyš'm p'rwty* *yw'r 'krt'ym* “(Not only) have I no joy in you, but I am rather mourning (you)” (on 'nw'nty ? 'nw'zty ? 'zw'nty ? see *BBB*, p. 66; “mourning for the living” = mourning although you are still alive?). The clearest passage is in M 178 i V 17: *pr jwky' pw r'f oo prw wysygy kw 'tyyšn 'ndwxc nyyst oo prw fry'wygh pwu jysš'wc oo prw fryy'nw'z kw 'tyyšn yw'r nyyst* “in health without sickness, in joy where they have no sorrow; in love without hatred, in groups of friends where they have no mourning”.

³ Cf. M 118 ii V 11: *'rsk yp'k . . . nfrywn 'ty psypw'βky'* “envy and hatred (anger) . . . cursing and slandering”. Man. Letter, iii, 14: [*p]syyp ny w'β'm'k'm* “I shall not slander”. Possibly connected with Buddh. *βs'yp*- P 2, 1168 (“to throw down”?) and the words given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 231.

⁴ Or *Martēna*. Cf. Khwarezmian *Mardāna* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 99¹⁴), Man.MPers. *Murdyānag*, etc. (see Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 9 sq.; Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 179 sq.).

⁵ Lit. “pulled out, away”.—“Three times”: cf. *Homilies*, 68¹⁴.

⁶ The Sogdian gender endings show that the translator imagined that Cain was a woman! Cf. *BBB*, p. 101.

⁷ In the older Manichæan texts, those written in Babylonia, “East” connotes “India” (cf. e.g. *Kephalaia*, 12¹⁵, 16; similarly “West” = “Syria”, *Kephalaia*, 7¹⁸; Kessler, 349¹³; Beruni, *Chron.*, 207¹⁷, etc.), while in the later writings it implies “Chinese Turkestan” (see *BBB*, p. 10).

A.....s¹ who spoilt the Brahmanic religion and established the ten adversities in the world. (24-9) The second calumniator was Žāmāsp who slandered Azrušč (Zarathuštra), and (so did) King Naksintar (= Alexander)² who committed the murder of the Magi, and Kūyūne, the son of Ahriman, who (= Kūyūne) spoilt the Magian religion. (29-33) The third calumniator was WPR'TT (= Upagupta?),³ the śramaṇa, — and King Šoka (= Aśoka)⁴ who slandered Buddha Šākman,⁵ and further the sinner Devadatta who spoilt the Buddha's religion.⁶ (33-7) The fourth calumniator was Iscariot who slandered Christ, and the (fourth) sinner^{fem.} (was) Satan^{fem.} the hard-hearted (?)⁷ one^{fem.}

¹ Had this name been preserved, it might have given a valuable pointer to the source from which this curious statement was derived (Buddhist? Greek?). As far as I can see there is no equivalent report in the accounts furnished by the companions of Alexander, or by Megasthenes (Strabo, xv, 59-60, C. 712-13, from Megasthenes, *ibid.*, 66, C. 716-17, from Nearchos, *ibid.*, 70, C. 719, from an unknown source, is hardly comparable; cf. E. R. Bevan, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, i, 419 sqq.); cf. also Palladius (Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 7-16, ed. C. Müller) and Bardesanes, *Lois des Pays*, p. 20, ed. Nau (pp. 45-6 transl.). One can hardly ascribe the statement of the text to Mani who never included Brahmanism in the list of the inspired religions.

² Corrupted from 'rksynt. Note the *ks* (as in Pahlavi, etc.) against *xs* in MPers. 'lasyndrgyrd, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 302 (in the Sogdian version of the missionary history, cf. *OLZ.*, 1939, 242, r'synt'ykyrd).

³ One would expect *wpkwpt*, or, if a Middle Indian form *Upagutta* had been used, *wpkwt* (*wpkwti*, *wpk'wt*, *wpk'utt*). Even *wpk'tt*, reproducing Middle Persian (?) 'wpgt, would be possible, in view of *š'kma* for *Šākyamuni*. Now, *wpk'tt*, in an earlier Sogdian manuscript, could have been misread as *wpr'tt*: one often experiences some difficulty in distinguishing the letters *k* and *r* from each other in even carefully written Sogdian MSS.—In considering this restitution one must bear in mind that *wpr'tt* should represent the name of a man famous in the history of Buddhism, preferably of someone associated with Aśoka; cf. F. W. Thomas, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, i, 498.

⁴ *šwk'* contrasts with the Central Asian forms given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 919. While the indispensable initial *A-* is missing here, there is a more than superfluous *A-* in the Sogdian spelling of Kaniska's name (cf. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1942, 15 sq.) which occurs in P 8, 29: 'knšk 'st'wp' br'y'r = *Kaniska-stūpa-vihāra*; cf. 'kwc- = Kuc(i), *BSOS.*, ix, 566; *Sogdica*, p. 61.

⁵ Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, 880^b and n. 2.

⁶ The stereotyped relative clauses seem to have been distributed at random among the "calumniators".

⁷ Here again the translator has blundered, in mistaking the sex of Satan, cf. *BBB.*, p. 101. Previously I had suggested that *zwyš'nch* belonged to *zwyšk-* (*žwšq-*, *šrwšk-*) "bhīkṣu, disciple", but that does not make sense. In view of the copyist's carelessness it may be permitted to ascribe another mistake to him and to read *zwy'm'nch* instead = *žoymānč*, fem. of *žoymāne*, Luke, 19²¹, ²² = Syr. *qasyā* (*žoy-* from *drayn-* from the base of Av. *drang-*; here hardly belongs Saka *dira-* which could better be derived from **diry-* from Av. *driyu-*).—Satan and

who spoilt the Christian religion. (37-45) There were still other sinners whom Greed and Ahriman kept as their mounts,¹ and who slandered the Buddhas and the Arhants, the Righteous Dēndārs and the Pious Men. All these many sinners shall be bound in the eternal prison, together with Ahriman, and they shall be

(Third section) (46-50) [And again the pure-]hearted Dharmarājā,² the . . . Light Apostle, the Lord Mār Mānī spoke thus to the Hearers: "If you please, listen, and I shall explain to you the faithful Hearers who [accept] my [teachings]

M 549

Lower half of a folio. Manichæan script. The appending folio deals with astrological matters (not given here).

(R 1) jww (2) jrywyw prw (3) js(m)[]m w'nw 'tyh (4) prywyð mrynend w' mγwn xwrmztyc (5) δ'm oo 'tyšn β't βyryy 'ty z'wr (6) wγšyy 'ty 'xwsndyy' wyyh mγwn (7) δyw'styyc(y) δ'myy oo 'rtyy nwkr [? št](y)w (8) mzyx 'n(z)r' ³ 'ty prδβn pty'scnd (9) ww rw'nsp'syy oo 'rty c'nw x' (10) rw(')[ns]p'syy ptxsyy oo 'rtyy 'yw (11) [about 7] qwγwnyy 'wštyyt δw'n (12) [about 7].

Iscariot: cf. *Mir.Man.*, iii, pp. 880, 883. The translation of the first passage, i, 72 sqq., is to be corrected: "The cup of poison and death, hatred was poured (Pers. *gusār-*) over you, Boy, by Iscariot, etc."

¹ Cf. M 904, 17-19: *mγwn wjyδw'δyy β'rycyg[ē] δym'βrt 'ty ny[wš'kt]* "All mounts of the Holy Ghost: the Elect and the Hearers". *Mir.Man.*, iii, k 40 (on the reading see below, p. 143, n. 6): "Satan made Iscariot his mount" (cf. Luke, 22^s, ελοῖλαθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς . . . Ἰσκαριώτην). Possibly also *ibid.*, i 71, *bāragān ēē išmagifti*. Cf. also the following somewhat confused Middle Persian passage (M 788, 2-8): *h'n hm w'xš [ywjāhr] [gry](p)t b'rg w'šymw[n] [y]qwb qyf' mry(m) mrt' (p)'wlyš pytrws tykl'y bhyr [. . .](š)t' '(w)[d] (h)yrm' šwb'n [oo 'wš'n qy[rā] w'xšwrsic pā šhr šhr 'wd d'št dym pā p'qyh* "The Holy Ghost also took as his mounts: Simon, . . . , James, Cephas, Mariam, Martha, Paul, Peter, Thecla, BHYR (?), . . . , and Hermas the shepherd. They became apostles in the various lands and kept the religion in a state of purity". (*šymwn*, at the head of the list, is Simon Peter rather than Simon the Canaanite: Peter thus is represented three times, as *šymwn*, *qyf'*, and *pytrws*. Cf. M 18, V 12, and Allberry, *Psalm-book*, 142 sq., 192, 194. A gross mistake is "Hermas the shepherd", instead of "the shepherd of Hermas").

² Restore: *[rty tym ZK 'ws'wyt']kw p'zny* (but it should be *'ws'wyt-p'zn'y*), or: *[rty tym cna 'yw'rδ]kw p'zny* (however, there should be ZK before *δrm'ykw*). Possibly *δrm'ykw γwβw* formed merely the end of a longer compound, "the . . . ciita-dharma-rājā." The introduction of such Buddhist terms may be due to the translator; cf. line 40, "the Buddhas and Arhants" = "the apostles". In any case, the chapter beginning in line 46 need not have been joined originally with the preceding text.

³ Possibly *'n(w)r*.

'rtyšn 'wrδ βwt xw (13) [about 7] (xw) ? qwγwnyy w'βttt x' (14)](x') ? 'spnd

(V 15) prp[(16) zpřtqrry [(17) 'rty ywnyyδ kw[]ryw[(18) 'wjyδδt 'rty βwt xw ywxn' 'pšyyk¹ (19) 'spyy ptxwng ryyt ('ngr'nd² 'tyh (20) γwšyy 's oo 'rtx' nnδβ'mbn δn (21) ['y](n)ctyy wyy ytqwy' tyys'nd γwδ(y)³ (22) ptšq'fnd 'sk' wxwn'nd r'yynd (23) ryyš'nd (f)tr'nd⁴ 'ty γryw prw z'yy (24) frp's'nd oo 'rty pncmx' [? qn]δδ⁵ (25) kyy jymt xwyndyy 'wrδ r[. . . .]δ (26) 'sp'd 'rty w' nfryyn[(27) jmykyy' mnd''γ'ryy' [(28) qnδ [

Translation

(First page) . . . so that thereby they would wreck the whole Ahuramazdian Creation, and that in the whole Demonic Creation they would have success and power, joy and satisfaction. And now, thirdly (?), they did much harm and injury to the "soul-service". For when the "soul-service"⁶ is performed, one

¹ Or *yukn* 'pšyyx. A letter may be missing at the end of the last word ('pšyyk[.], or 'pšyyx[.]). Cf. *xwrny pšyyn*, *S.T.*, ii, 6, 9-10. As the past stem is *pšyt-*, we probably have a noun *pšēk* here.

² Possibly (*m*)*ngr'nd*. However, an imperfect is not wanted, the preceding and following finite forms being in the present. Probably *ngr'nd* is an infinitive, or rather a verbal noun, parallel to *pšyyk* and *ptxwng* and depending on *βwt*. This entails taking also 's for a verbal noun, with the genitive (?) *γwšyy* depending on it. The latter may belong to *γōš* "ear" rather than to *γōš* "metal"; there was also *γōše* from *γōšak* "spy".

³ Possibly *γwδ(w)*. But cf. Chr. *γwδy*, Buddh. *γwδ'k*, *BSOS.*, x, 91, *γwδ'kh*, P 8, 108 (cf. Av. *gaoidi*). Different is *γwδ-*, P 2, 962 = Av. *gūda-*.

⁴ Or (*p*)*tr-*. Cf. *'p'tr-* "to pluck (hairs)" *SCE.*, 88, and Pers. *fitar-* "to pull to pieces" (probably borrowed from Sogdian).

⁵ *pncmx*[. . .]δδ. The first word, *pncmx*, is apparently complete. It is written as a single word, hence possibly not *pncm* "fifth" + *x* (cf. *pncm*, P 2, 1094, 1120). The restoration of [*qn*]δδ, on which the interpretation of *jymt* depends, is purely tentative; it is supported by *qnδ* in line 28, and by *'wrδ* in line 25.

⁶ The signification of this term is not clear. It may refer to a religious service for the souls of the departed, a Manichaean *Requiem*. An allusion to the "soul-work" (MPers. *rawānagān*, Turk. *üzülüg iş*), the alms and tithes given to the monks by the laymen, is hardly intended (notwithstanding the title of the official who collects the alms: *arwānagān aspasaq* = "soul-work servant"). In Sogdian those alms were called simply *δβ'r* "gifts", or else the Middle Persian (*δβ'r rw'ng'n*, T i D, R 5), or the Parthian word (*'rw'ng'n*, M 858^a 1) was employed.—The passage in *Mr.Mam.*, iii, k 42, p. 883, where I wrongly restored [*rw*]ng'n, should read as follows (from line 39 onwards: based on the MSS. M 390, M 459^e, and M 891^b): *kyrdwš b'rg 'škyrw'š 'bzftg fryhstwm 'mawst 'c 'bjyrw'ng'n oo nm'dyš pd dštrb "dyšg* (var. lect. *'dyšg*) *'w dwšmny'n 'bysprδ* (var. lect. *'bysprwδ ?*) *bgywht 'byst'w'd 'c r'styft (?) pd p'db'rg cy d'd yhw'd'n wxybyy xwd'y 'wt 'mwog prēt*. The strange looking last word probably means "he gave up, sacrificed".

.... Kūyūne steps forward, and there they have the
Kūyūne says: the sacred.

(*Second page*) purifying without delay he dismounts, and there take place spilling of blood, killing of horses, laceration of faces, and taking (= cutting off?) of ears (?). And the lady Nan(a), accompanied by her women, walks on to the bridge, they smash the vessels, loud they call out,¹ they weep, tear (their garments),² pull out (their hairs), and throw themselves to the ground. And fifthly, the (?) city which is called Žimat, there an army. And the curse-....³ city

¹ Cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 97 sq.

² Or (perhaps better) "lacerate (their faces, etc.)".

³ *mand-āyāryā* contains neither Buddh. "γ'r "pace" (in Man. prob. "x'r" nor "γ'r "food, meal" (in Man. 'x'r and 'h'r), cf. *BBB.*, p. 98. It is doubtful whether the word is connected with *āyarte* "muddy, juicy, etc." (*Sogdica*, p. 30, cf. Pers. *āyār*), or with Buddh. "γ'rt "indigestible" (P 8, 124, cf. Pashto *ayēr*, Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 9, Charpentier, *AO.*, vii, 181). Perhaps the most likely candidate is the word "γ'r in M 134 i V 7: p' 'yyny jwndyy γryw mrdspndy z'wr oo wny zrw'βyyy npyyśn ['t]y xwrmzē'βyyy z'tyy oo m[γwn']fcmōdy frn'ty "γ'r s't w'tδ'rtyy .[.]n rw'n kyy cn γrβ β[r]ywr srδytyy mrt's'r oo pr z'y pr sm'n wysprδ[yy]] šyštyy δyštyy w(m)[t = for the strength of the elements, this *viva anima* the grandson of Zrwan and son of Khormazda (*Primus Homo*), the fortune (glory) and *āyār* of the whole world, the life (? *jw'n* ?) and soul of all living beings, which (= *viva anima*) since many myriads of years (= since the beginning of the world) up to now has been scattered and dispersed (cf. *S.T.*, i, 75¹⁸, and s's δβ'n, O² 32) everywhere on the earth and in the skies. Similar passages will be found in *Mir.Man.*, iii, p. 871, n. 4. The Parthian text translated there runs as follows: *cy wxd 'st b'm 'wd frh [cy] hmg zmbwdyg bwn 'wd "c'r cy hrwyn gy'n'n 'wd d'md'd'n z'wr jywhr br'zyśn 'wd hwcyhryft 'z kw z[ynd] jywynd 'wd pr'wst bywynd wys[p] jyw'ng*. The comparison of all passages indicates that Sogd. *āyār* corresponds either to Parth. *bām*, Turk. *qıw* "splendour", or possibly to Parth. *bun ud āčār*, Turk. *töz yilliz* "root and basis". Thus *mand-āyāryā* may mean "lustrelessness", or "baselessness", or even "absence of moisture".

The Seal of Solomon

By J. McG. DAWKINS

AMONG the sharpest contrasts between East and West has been their different approach to the problems of physical science. The West, aiming low, concentrated on the Philosopher's Stone and the Elixir of Life, conceivably attainable ends, and arrived at modern science. The East aimed higher at the grand source of power, from which all the rest would follow, and it arrived practically nowhere. This power was sought in knowledge of the Seal of the Great Name, the seal containing the Ineffable Name of God, which was believed to have given Solomon his power over the Djinn, the birds and the winds.

The purpose of this note is not so much to repeat or criticize what has been written on the subject as to draw attention to what seems a likely, and hitherto unexplained, parallel case of a seal in India. The chief modern authorities who have commented on the seven signs which make up the whole seal of Solomon, appear to be those quoted below.¹ Of these, Winkler has written about a hundred pages. All refer to Arabic writers on magic, notably Al-buni.² These Arabs agree, most of them, in their descriptions of the seven signs and how they are to be written (Fig. 1).


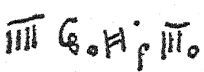
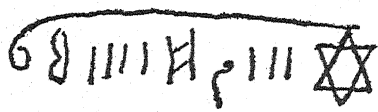

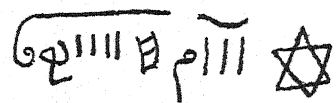
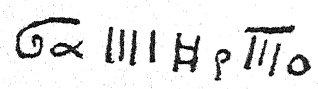
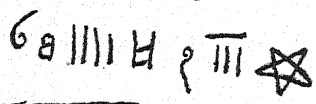
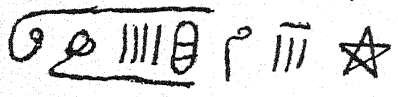
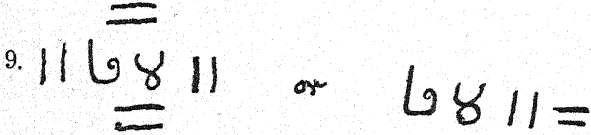
Figs. 1 to 7 are some versions taken from Winkler and showing the seal as it appeared at various dates from the earliest known example (tenth or eleventh century). Fig. 8 shows an enlarged tracing of a seal made for me by a Turkish engraver in Edirne in 1924, when asked to produce "the most powerful magic seal within his knowledge". It is in brass and cost about 9*d*. Fig. 9 shows modern Indian variants.

Now that magic is no longer believed the only interest in such cryptic signs seems to lie in why they were chosen at all and what they were supposed to represent, if anything. It is commonly agreed that Solomon's seal, the seal of the Great Name, contained

¹ H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Tuebingen, 1930. W. B. Stevenson, *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow Oriental Society, 1920. E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Jourdan, Alger, 1908.

² Al-buni. Cod. Par. 2647. Thirteenth century.

the ineffable name of God. That Solomon ever possessed such a seal, let him believe who will. The authorities do not mention the point, but it seems a reasonable conjecture that the seven signs composing

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 

1. Rainer MS., tenth or eleventh century. 2. Divan of 'Ali, ? twelfth century.
 3. Paris 2847; Albuni, thirteenth century. 4. Paris 2647, Albuni.
 5. Paris 2648, MS. of A.D. 1443. 6 and 7. Two gems of uncertain date.
 8. Adrianople, A.D. 1924. 9. Modern Indian.

the seal arose and gradually assumed their present arrangement in accordance with the usual law of supply and demand. A tentative

and scholarly attempt at an interpretation of each of the seven signs is to be found in Winkler and need not be repeated here in detail. The whole matter still requires longer study, and far more space than an article affords. But a few notes on some of the signs may be interesting.

The first sign appears originally as a circle, later as a five-pointed star, and now in the form, as Winkler observes, of the more easily written six-pointed star. Relying on Albuni, he connects it with the final letter *Há* in Allah, equivalent to the Arabic numeral five, and so to the pentagram. As regards the sixth and seventh signs, Winkler makes out what seems to be a good case for regarding them as corruptions of Alpha and Omega, the alpha having been turned over on to its side. It is these signs which seem to occur in India. If indeed they are the same signs they seem to have been first noticed in 1829 by Tod,¹ who relates the story that Akbar, after his capture of Chitor in 1568, estimated the number of the Rajput slain by collecting and weighing the Brahmanical Cords worn by men of high caste. The recorded amount was $74\frac{1}{2}$ *mans* of about 8 lb. each. Tod then continues: "To eternize the memory of this disaster, the numerals $74\frac{1}{2}$ are *tilak* or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rajasthan, it is the strongest of seals, for the 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number." (See Fig. 10 where [a] gives what is said by Elliot to be the *correct* method of writing the figures, which is very important for our present purpose, since it contains *four* strokes; and [b] gives a more popular form.)

Further, there is a note by Sir H. M. Elliot² in which, while commenting on popular numbers and more especially on 84, the Chaurasi number, he writes: "There is also a very remarkable use of 74 in epistolary correspondence. It is an almost universal practice in India to write this number on the outside of letters, it being intended to convey the meaning that nobody is to read the letter but the person to whom it is addressed. The practice was originally Hindu, but has been adopted by the Musulmans. There is nothing like an intelligible account of its origin and object, but it is a curious fact that, when correctly written, it represents an integral number of 74 and a fractional number of 10,

¹ Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (ed. by W. Crooke, 1920, vol. i, 383).

² Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, ed. by Beames, 1869, vol. ii, p. 68, note.

numbering 7,450 (or $74\frac{1}{2}$ hundred) threw away their sacred threads and became Sūdras in order to save their lives. Since this occurrence the figure $74\frac{1}{2}$ is considered very unlucky. Banias (i.e. merchants and moneylenders) write $74\frac{1}{2}$ in the beginning of their account-books, by which they are held to take a vow that if they make a false entry in the book, they will be guilty of the sin of having killed this number of Brahmans. The same figure is also written on letters, so that none but the person to whom they are addressed may dare to open them”.

It would seem that such explanations prove too much. The Rajputana one and the one from the Central Provinces cannot both be true; and both recall the similar explanation of the well-known magic square number 8642, the *abjad* equivalent of “Baduh” بدرح, commonly used on letters in Egypt and the Sudan to ensure safe arrival. Doutté (op. cit., p. 129) observes: “Baduh est un mot magique qui est très usité comme talisman: or on raconte que c'était le nom d'un homme qui fit une très grande fortune.”¹

Considering, therefore, what has been said about the four strokes in the correct version of the number, and the general similarity of the signs, it seems not improbable that we have here in India the last three, and most important, signs of the seal, which have somehow become detached and received local explanations.

I venture to append, very tentatively, a probably rash, general interpretation of the seal in its present form, based partly on the balance of probabilities favoured by Winkler and Arabic MS. directions how to write the seal; and partly on what may be supposed to have been the reactions of experts in magic when required to produce the seal. But first I may note the following points:—

(a) The first sign, whatever it may have been originally, in its present form of 5- or 6-pointed star has long been familiar to the Arab world, e.g. on drinking-cups, as the *Magen Dawid* or David's shield, i.e. as a Judaic symbol.

(b) The third sign, the Mīm, according to Al-buni, *should be*

¹ The use of such magic words and numbers on letters is widespread. I am indebted to Sir Richard Burn for the information that Indian Musulmans so use 786, the *abjad* equivalent of the *Bismillah* formula; while in Turkey, the name *Katmir*, the dog of the Seven Sleepers, has been regarded as presiding over letters (see F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 1929, i, p. 313).

written طَمِيسٌ وَأَبْتُرٌ, meaning presumably "blind and without a tail", though in fact it seems hardly to be so found.

(c) The fourth sign, described by Al-buni as "the ladder, and yet it is no ladder", is said to be described by Ibn 'l Hajj 't-Tilimsani (? fourteenth century) as a symbol of the ascent to the seven heavens.

(d) The sixth and seventh signs are described by Al-buni in the following lines (Winkler, op. cit.):—

و هاء شقيق ثم واو منكس كانبوب حجام و ليس بمجم
فهذا هو الاسم المعظم قدره فان كنت لم تعلمه قبل فاعلم

i.e. "And a Hā split-off" (presumably disconnected and not to be joined to following letter). "Then a Wau upside down like the tube of a cupping-glass, and it is not a cupping-glass. This then is the Name exalted in power; and if thou knewest it not before, so know it."

The answer to the question "What was Solomon's seal?" might then shape itself as follows:—

1st Sign.—Judaism or Moses.

2nd Sign.—The Tri-unity, or Christ (cf. the abbreviation mark commonly used on the top of Byzantine inscriptions).

3rd Sign.—Mohammed: third and last of the prophets (the initial letter to be written blind and tailless, since his birth lay in the future?).

4th Sign.—"You want to know the Ineffable Name: then ascend to heaven by this ladder and read it."

5th Sign.—The four vertical strokes. Winkler inclines finally to the tetragrammaton. "There is the name in four letters."

6th and 7th Signs.—Alpha and Omega: "the first and the last."

I would emphasize that the above interpretation is not meant as anything more than a shot in the dark. The curious will find ample field for the exercise of their ingenuity by referring to the works quoted, and very likely to others. The purpose of this notice will have been fulfilled, if it be found to provide a likely solution to the hitherto mysterious Indian seal.



The Saurāshtrans of South India

By H. N. RANDLE

PLATE XVIII

INTRODUCTION

SOME three years ago chance brought to light in the India Office Library a little book with an English title on the cover: *First catechism of Sourashtra grammar. By T. M. Rama Rou. Madras, 1905.* It challenged inquiry because the script was quite unfamiliar. With it was another little book in the same script and by the same author—*Saurāṣṭra-bōdhini* (1906)—which fortunately gave the alphabet, in the usual order, and lists of the complex combinations of all the vowels with all the consonants, so that the script could be read. The language is listed as Paṭṇūli, but is not described, in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. The author of the two books had, however, provided the necessary clue to understanding in his grammar, the opening sections of which happen to be bilingual, quoting and translating the rules of Sanskrit grammarians. For the rest, since it was usually possible to anticipate what the writer must say, for example in defining grammatical terms, and since after all the book itself gave an account of the inflectional system of the language, it remained only to arrive at the meaning of words, so far as it was not obvious from analogues in other modern Indo-Aryan languages; and (a more difficult task) to grasp the part played in the language by certain striking forms of expression which have no Indo-Aryan parallels.—To learn a modern language by methods appropriate to the interpretation of lost languages of the past is of course a procedure difficult to defend, when it would be so simple, and so much better, to learn it from the lips of the speakers in India. But the better course was not open to me, and I was not willing to postpone indefinitely an investigation which promised to be interesting from other points besides the linguistic.

Admirable accounts of the community who speak this language are to be found, notably in Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India* (vol. vi, 1909, article *Paṭṇūlkāran*), and the present article adds nothing to the published ethnographical data. Its purpose is to draw attention to this interesting community and to communicate (for the first time) information about the literature

which has been published in an Indo-Aryan language so surprisingly preserved in the Dravidian South.

THE PEOPLE

The people who speak this Indo-Aryan language call themselves Saurāshtrans. They are a community of more than a hundred thousand persons resident in the Tamil country who differ in physical characteristics from their Tamil neighbours. Because they are largely concerned in the textile industry they are commonly known as Paṭṇūlkārāns, a word which is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit *paṭṭavāya*, silk-weaver; and the Saurāshtrans are still the only manufacturers of all-silk material in Madras, although they are now principally engaged in producing cotton cloth, with or without silk borders. Since they market their own products and engage in other forms of commerce, they are classed with "chettis" or business people. In Madura they are so numerous that (it has been said) "every third man you meet is a Saurāshtran"; but there is also a large community of them in Tanjore, and smaller numbers in other centres. All accounts agree that they are intelligent, enterprising and industrious, and the prosperity of Madura is stated to be largely due to them. In that city they occupy the southern quarter, and they have built a temple of Krishna in which their own priests officiate; but they commonly frequent also the great temple of Minakshi. In some streets "every house is a dyeing and weaving factory and the gutters flow in red colours"¹—no longer, it is to be feared, only the "Madura red" which was once famous but also imported dyes. "The Sourashtra is easily distinguished from members of other castes by his yellow complexion, his foreign accent, and his shy and awkward manners. He is thin, tall, and generally handsome."² "All of them claim to be Brahmans . . . the men generally following the manners of the Iyengar Brahmins and the women those

¹ Quoted from K. Ranga Rao's *Madura, a tourist's guide* (Madras, 1913), to which I am largely indebted for this description of the community. Other sources besides Thurston's exhaustive article "Patnulkarans" in his *Castes and Tribes of South India*, vol. vi (1909), are J. H. Nelson's *The Madura Country* (1868); W. Francis in *Madras Census Report*, 1901, and *Madura District Gazetteer* (1906); and the community's own publication, *A History of the Sourashtras in Southern India* (Madura, 1895; reprinted 1942).

² K. Ranga Rao's *Madura*, p. 141. Cf. J. H. Nelson, *The Madura Country* (1868), Part II, p. 87.

of the Telugu ladies.”¹ In A.D. 1704-5 Queen Mangammal of Madura issued a rescript on the subject of this claim, to the effect that the Saurāshtrans had the right to “follow Brahmanical ceremonies”; the Saurāshtrans themselves point out that some of their *gotras* are Brahmanical.² “The Patnulkarans have a very strong *esprit de corps* and this has stood them in good stead in their weaving, which is more scientifically carried on . . . than is usual elsewhere.”³ This community spirit manifested itself in the foundation in 1895 of the *Saurāshtra Literary Society*, and was evidenced (in 1906) by the fact that one of the six Upper Secondary Schools in the Madura district was maintained by the community.⁴

The tradition of the community's migrations is preserved in a series of questions and answers which forms part of the Saurāshtran marriage customs. “Before the date of the wedding the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house and ask formally for the girl's hand. Her relations ask them in a set form of words⁵ who they are and whence they come, and they reply that they are from Sorath (the old name for Saurashtra or Kathiawar), resided in Devagiri, travelled south (owing to Musalman oppression) to Vijayanagar and thence came to Madura. They then ask the bride's party the same question and receive the same reply. . . . Most of the Patnulkarans can still speak Telugu,⁶ which raises the

¹ Ibid., pp. 145-6. It is hard to see how all of them can claim to be Brahmans. Their own *History of the Sourashtras* states that “the Sourashtras like other nations of India are divided into four great divisions, viz. Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra”. But Mr. K. V. Padmanābha Aiyar in a Tamil pamphlet *Naṭana Gōpāla Svāmi carittiram* (Madura, 1938) cites as *smṛtivākya* some *ślokas* which speak of textile workers in *Saurāṣṭra-deśa* as “twice-born” :—

Saurāṣṭra-deśe jīvanti paṭa nirmāya (sic) vai dvijāḥ
Śālihotrānvayodbhūtā vicitra-paṭa-kāriṇaḥ.

The following couplet says that Brahmans in different countries follow various occupations—*Tat-tad-deśeṣu viprāṇāṃ vṛttayo vividhāḥ.*

² *Census Report*, 1901, vol. xv (Madras), p. 173.

³ W. Francis, *Madura District Gazetteer*, vol. i, pp. 109-111.

⁴ Ibid., p. 177.

⁵ I have so far failed to obtain a copy of these questions and answers, although they exist in print.

⁶ According to the *Census of India*, 1931 (vol. xiv, Madras, Part II, Table XV, pp. 294-5) a great majority of speakers of Saurāshtrī (89,000 out of 104,000) returned Tamil as their subsidiary language. Only 664 spoke Telugu as subsidiary to Saurāshtrī. But the facts indicate that some Saurāshtrans are trilingual, and that those who are literate can read the Telugu as well as the Tamil script. Saurāshtran publications have been printed in no less than five different characters:

inference that they must have resided a long time in the Telugu country, while their Patnuli contains many Canarese and Telugu words; and they observe the feast of Basavanna (or Boskanna)¹ which is almost peculiar to the Bellary country.”²

The *History of the Sourashtras in Southern India* states (pp. 11-12) that “when the Sourashtras settled in the south they reproduced the institutions of the mother-country in the new land; but owing to the influence of the Southern Dravidians some of the institutions became extinct. . . . The people were divided into four heads called *Govndas* (chiefs), *Saulins* (elders), *Voyddoos* (physicians), and *Bhoutuls* (religious men). Some traces of the division still survive in the now neglected institution of Govndans. . . . The office of Govndo is hereditary in Madura district whereas in other centres it is elective. . . . The *Voyddoos* (Pandits) and *Bhoutuls* (*Josis* and *Kavis* also ranked with *Voyddas* and *Bhoutuls*) . . . are placed in the same rank with the Elders. The Karestuns or the Commons are the whole body of the masses. Their voice is necessary on certain important occasions, as during the ceremonies of excommunication and prayaschittas. . . .”³ The same source (p. 13) describes them as “brave but humble, God-fearing, hospitable, fond of festivities and amusements”.⁴ On the subject of their religious

Telugu, Tamil, Nāgarī, and two unique scripts (one used in 1880, the other between about 1890 and 1908. The latter is called the Saurāshtran script. See the accompanying plate).

¹ T. M. Rāma Rāo's *Saurāstra-nandi-nighaṇṭu* (printed in Saurāshtran character, Madura, 1908), verse 57, gives *Boskan*, *Boskanno*, *Boskano* as alternative forms of the name of an attendant of Śiva.

² This is cited from the *Madura District Gazetteer*, p. 110.

³ This is not clear. The Karestuns (*kar*, do = the workers [?]) seem to be excluded from the fourfold division, and to be added by an afterthought. Then again *Voyddoos* (*Vaidyas*), *Bhautuls*, *Joshis*, and *Kavis* seem to be placed in the same category with the *Saulins*. [For *Saulins* see below page 163, footnote 2. *Govnda* is presumably from *gām* (S. *grāma*); the headmen among the Kāle Kunbis of the Bombay Province are called *gāvada* (Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. ii, p. 225). *Bhautul* is found at the end of proper names, occasionally.] Nor is it clear how this division works in with the traditional four-fold caste division which is stated to be applicable (p. 153, footnote 1).

⁴ Ranga Rao's *Madura* (p. 147) says that “at the close of every marriage the Rama or Krishna Nataka must be enacted”. Much of their literature is of the *saṃgīta* class, and the *rāgas* in which such lyrics are to be sung are invariably named. A long section in the *Saurāstra-nandi-nighaṇṭu* (which is closely modelled on the *Amarakośa*, however), is devoted to technical terms relating to music, musical instruments, and dramatic performances. It appears from their literature, and is confirmed by those who have dealings with them, that a regard for truth (*sethu*) may be added to the list of their qualities.

beliefs the *History* (p. 13) adds: "The Sourashtras, it is said,¹ were originally a class of sun-worshippers, from Soura meaning sun; but the term Sourashtra means inhabitants of the "fruitful kingdom" . . . they were originally Madhvas.² After their settlement in Southern India some of them owing to the preachings of Sankaracharya and Ramanujacharya were converted into Saivites and Vaishnavites respectively. The Sourashtras belong to the Akshobhya and Sankaracharya Matas."³

THE LANGUAGE

The Saurāshtrī language, also called Paṭṇūlī or Khatrī,⁴ has been classed as a dialect of Gujarātī. It certainly appears to belong

¹ If the compilers of the *History* (1891) had heard of the Mandasor inscription discussed below—it was first published in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1886—this statement might have to be discounted as independent evidence. But if they knew of it they might have been expected to refer to it: unless they had a reason for disregarding it (see, e.g. in this connection, the *Madras Census Report*, 1901, p. 173: "The Mandasor inscriptions [sic], however, represent them as soldiers as well as weavers, which does not sound Brahmanical." But the Khattris of the Punjab were soldiers as well as traders, and Sir Richard Burn points out that Brahmans may be soldiers. The suggested derivation of *Saurāshtra* from *saura* is of course unacceptable.

² A book of Saurāshtran songs was published in 1924 under the title *Madhva-mata-prakāśini*.

³ Ranga Rao (*op. cit.*, p. 148) says that "they are devotees of Vishnu and Siva indiscriminately . . . Krishna is a favourite deity . . . most of them accept the head of the Sringeri Mutt as their spiritual head".

⁴ *The Linguistic Survey* gives Khatrī as another name for Paṭṇūlī, without comment. But the name may be a clue.

(a) There is a community of about 50,000 hereditary silk and cotton weavers called Khattris in the Bombay Province. "They call themselves Kshattris and claim a Kshatriya origin, those in Gujarat claiming to be Brahma Kshattris. They are tall and fair and they wear the sacred thread. . . . These facts would seem to suggest that they originally belonged to the great Kshatri race of the Punjab" (R. E. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 1901, vol. ii, p. 205). They have a number of endogamous divisions, such as Brahma Khatri, Somavamsi, Suryavamsi, etc. The Gujarātī Khattris are Vaishnavas; but like other Khattris, and like another small weaver-community, the Patvegars (Enthoven, ii, p. 225), they worship especially Hinglāj Mātā; which suggests that they came (as some of them in fact assert) from Sind (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, i, p. 189).

(b) The Khattris of the central and north-west Punjab are a very important commercial community of some 450,000 persons. Guru Nānak and Guru Angad were both Khattris. Rose (*Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier Province*, i, p. 59) remarks: "The modern Khatri is undoubtedly the ancient Kshatriya, though he had taken to trade . . . so thoroughly that Cunningham [*A.S.R.*, ii, p. 3] speaks of him as the Katri or grainseller as if his name were derived from *katra* or market!" See also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i, pp. 277-283; vol. ii, pp. 76-9. Sir Atul Chatterjee draws my attention to

to the Gujarātī-Rājasthānī linguistic type ; but, although it has some forms such as a causative in -*ḍ*- and passive in -*ā*- which connect it specifically with Gujarātī, its inflections are not those of Gujarātī, and its basic vocabulary is predominantly Marāṭhī. For these reasons it is not possible to regard it as a dialect of Gujarātī. It has of course come under Dravidian influence. Some writers, but not all, use a considerable number of Dravidian words and admit a Dravidian noun base -*am(u)* and Telugu plural in -*lu*. But the Dravidian influence has made itself felt very much more in certain aspects of syntax and idiom than in vocabulary and morphology. Nevertheless, although the infiltration of Dravidian syntax is a deep influence, which cannot be escaped even by an author like T. M. Rāma Rāo, who scrupulously avoids Dravidian words and does not use the Dravidian noun-base in -*amu*, it remains true that Saurāshtran is, through and through, an Indo-Aryan language. Saurāshtran publications are sufficient proof that it is an adequate medium for literary expression.

THE LITERATURE

The printed ¹ (or lithographed) literature seems to have had its origin in 1879-1880 in the needs of a school with Saurāshtran pupils affiliated to the Madras Free Church Central College. At any rate their Sanskrit Paṇḍit, Caturvēdē Lakṣmanācārya Hāḷivi wrote (by direction of "*Saurāṭh-mukhya-samājin*", the members of the Saurāshtran central association) a large number of little books in Saurāshtran, most if not all of which were plainly meant for use in schools ; for instance a *Laghu-saṅkhyāvalī* or Short Arithmetic.²

the wide distribution of the Khatri. They are numerous in the United Provinces (Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii, 264-277) and in Bengal (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i, 478-484). Both Crooke and Risley quote Sir George Campbell's paper on *The Ethnology of India* (J.A.S.B., 1866) as giving the best account of them. All accounts describe them as a fair and good-looking race, whose business and administrative capacities often place them in positions of the first importance. Thus Akbar's minister Todar Mal was a Khatri.

¹ A printed literature, in the case of a community which has a literate class, will always have been preceded by a literature preserved in memory and manuscript. Veṅkaṭa Sūri's poem (which occupies some 600 pages of print) was reduced to final form some twenty-five years before it was printed (1905). No doubt much unprinted Saurāshtran literature has survived.

² This is the only one of the 1880 publications which I have seen. (This copy has since been regrettably lost from an exhibition of Indian books ; but fortunately the whole of it had been rotographed.) It is lithographed in a character which I have seen nowhere else, but which has affinities to the "Saurāshtran alphabet"

This provision of school-books in the Saurāshtran language was a result of the community's fear that their mother-tongue might fall into disuse, and of their leaders' determination that this should not happen; a determination which finds expression in several publications, notably in the editor's preface (in Saurāshtran) to the Saurāshtran classic *Samgīta-Rāmāyaṇu*, by Veṅkaṭa Sūri¹ (1818-1890), printed (in Telugu character) by order of the *Saurāṣṭra Sabhā* in 1905. The editor, Kaṃdāllu Kavi Rāmalakṣmaṇa Aiyar, says that the Saurāshtrans, when they first reached Southern India, knew no language but their own and did not mix with their new neighbours, but that for business reasons they had to give up writing in their own language, with the result that their proficiency in it was being lost. This led their neighbours to look upon them as men without a country or a language of their own, and to think of them as "*Pulindas*" and "*Barbaras*". Seeing this, learned Saurāshtrans formed a "*Saurāṣṭra-vidyābhivardhani Sabhā*", and set themselves to collect and publish books in Saurāshtran, such as the *Samgīta-Rāmāyaṇu*, as well as books for school use like the *Bhārata*, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*,² works of logic, grammar, and medicine, the *nīti* of Manu and others, *Dattātreya-mantra* and so on. The writer foreshadowed that the united efforts of men of learning and of substance in all the cities would secure the rapid publication of such books, and that the community would then be respected.

The Madras Quarterly Catalogues provide evidence that these efforts have borne fruit, for in the past half century more than forty Saurāshtran books have been registered (and certainly others "escaped registration"). Apart from school-books these publications include work of cultural and literary interest. First (and *facile princeps*) stands Veṅkaṭa Sūri's *Samgīta-Rāmāyaṇu*; which in mere bulk is a considerable fraction of all the Saurāshtran books

subsequently used in Rāma Rāo's publications. On the back cover is a list of twenty-five Saurāshtran books, obtainable from the author. (This list is given in a form of the Nāgarī script.) Only four of these were registered in the Madras Quarterly Catalogues, so that it is clearly very unsafe to infer that the Quarterly Catalogues at that date were a complete record of publications.—The use of *gōṣa* in the sense of "one" (e.g. *gōṣunnaśambu*, 99), is a peculiarity of the *Laghu-saṅkhyavāṇī*. Its list of European months has the heading *Hūṇa mhaḍān*, Hun months.

¹ Veṅkaṭa Sūri enjoyed the patronage of the last Tanjore ruler, Śivājī (1832-1855). For his life see *BSOAS.*, xi, i (1943), p. 106, footnote.

² A *Bhāgavata-sārīṇi* and *Bhagavad-gītā-sārīṇi* figure in the 1880 list of Saurāshtran books mentioned above. It is not implied that large-scale translations from the Mahābhārata and other works were undertaken.

that have been printed, since it contains 534 *ślokas* and 347 *kīrtanas*, occupying some 600 octavo pages. The “*ślokas*” are written in the various classical Sanskrit metres, the *kīrtanas* (some of which are in themselves long poems) are in intricate metres with a variety of internal assonances, including the second-syllable assonance (*prāsu*) which is (I believe) characteristic of Dravidian prosody. A foreigner with an elementary knowledge of the language cannot safely express an opinion upon so elaborate a work of literary art; but I think that this lyrical Rāmāyaṇa is in fact a great poem, as the Saurāshtrans hold it to be. After Veṅkaṭa Sūri comes T. M. Rāma Rāo (Doppe Munisauḷi Rāmarāyi, 1852–1913), learned in English and Sanskrit, and a purist of Saurāshtran speech, who wrote much that has not yet been published, and is the author of the only available Grammar of Saurashtran.¹ He printed all his publications in the rather beautiful (but difficult) “Saurāshtran script” which he is said to have “invented” (whatever that may mean). Notable publications by him, besides his *Grammar*, are his *Saurāṣṭra-nandi-nighaṇṭu*² and *Saurāṣṭra-nīti-śambu*.³ The latter is said to be a compilation from sources such as the *Mahābhārata*, but some of the couplets may be original. It is written in the ordinary Sanskrit *śloka* metre, and the language is almost entirely free from Dravidian loan-words. Didactic verse of this type tends of course to be dull reading; but the Saurāshtran language lends itself to aphoristic brevity, and some of the sayings are very “quotable”.⁴

¹ *First Catechism of Sourashtra Grammar*. By T. M. Rama Rou [in Saurashtran script], Madras, 1905. This has been summarized in *BSOAS.*, ix, i (1943), pp. 104–121. See p. 151 *supra*. An edition in Nāgarī character is in the press at Madura.

² Printed in Saurāshtran character, Madras, 1908, for the use of Saurāshtran schools in Madura. It is a typical *kośa*, unfortunately incomplete. The published part (Part I) consists of twelve chapters, under such headings as heaven, space, time, music and drama, water. The synonyms given are often of course Sanskrit *tatsamas*, but it contains valuable linguistic material.

³ First printed both in Saurāshtran and in Telugu character, Madras, 1902. The text is given first in Saurāshtran character with Saurāshtran notes, then in Telugu character; and there are word lists, Saurāshtran-Tamil-Telugu-English. A second edition in Nāgarī character, with Saurāshtran prose version, was published in 1930 in Madras.

⁴ For example (in addition to the verses reproduced in the plate) this version of a well-known Sanskrit *subhāṣita* :—

Lōkum gauḷo sokaṇ Dēu laiḍo khaḷḷy auna rakṣevnu |
Bhaktunuk matī meg dēyī rakṣulno teka hāl tenu || 2 ||

“God does not come into the world like a cowherd bringing a cudgel to guard it: but he gives understanding to the faithful—they must guard themselves with it.”

Its chief interest—even if it is in the main a compilation—lies in the impression which it gives of the Saurāshtran's sane attitude towards life and conduct. But Rāma Rāo was primarily a scholar and an educationist, and his contribution to Saurāshtran literature is to be judged from that point of view. He is acclaimed as one of the founders of the community's literature. In the third place there are the popular *kīrtanas* composed and sung by a *bhakta* known as Naṭana Gōpāla Nāyaki Svāmin (c. 1842–1913), of whose life marvellous tales are told. There are several editions, one of which contains his Tamil as well as Saurāshtran hymns. These, like most of the books published in the last thirty years, are printed in Tamil character (which, with the use of such Grantha letters as *j*, *h*, and *s*, and the addition to the class-consonants of the numerals 2, 3, 4 to signify aspirated surd, sonant and aspirated sonant, can adequately express Saurāshtran sounds). The thought and the language of these hymns is very simple, their popularity being no doubt due rather to music and religious fervour than to their literary quality. Unless I am mistaken, they belong rather to the sphere of devotional religion than to that of literature.

Attempts have been made to popularize the use of the Nāgarī character, and half a dozen Nāgarī prints have been published since 1920. It has the disadvantage of lacking separate characters for short *ē* and *ō* (which are very frequent sounds in Saurāshtran, and have of course separate symbols in the Dravidian alphabets, as in the "Saurāshtran" script). This has, however, been remedied by the use in the most recent Nāgarī prints of characters for *ē* and *ō* similar to those adopted by the late Sir George Grierson. But at present the indications are that the use of the Tamil script will prevail; and it is in the Tamil script that the only published Saurāshtran version of a complete Sanskrit work has been printed—Gurugādi Raṅgadhāma Aiyar's metrical version of the *Gītagovinda* (together with the Sanskrit text, also in Tamil character: *Kumbakonam*, 1938). This Saurāshtran version, which makes free use of Dravidian (Telugu) loan-words, is plainly an important addition to Saurāshtran literature. I hesitate to comment on the work of a living writer, and will restrict myself to the citation of the last verse of *Aṣṭapadī* 5, in which the author takes a small liberty with his text in order to state the purpose of his work:—

*Haridāsu Jayadēvu arttu kalāsto Sau-
-rāṣṭru vattāmu racana kerī rheyye ē kruti*

*Hari-bhaktuluku bheḷi harṣam hoy rhāyi bhakti-
-virahituluku bheḷi vegutu hoy rhāyi.*

“May this work, which has been composed in Saurāshtran speech so that the meaning of Jayadeva the servant of Hari may be known, be very delightful to the devotees of Hari, very vexatious to those who are without devotion!”

It is quite usual to find in India communities of persons engaged in a particular industry who claim a common origin, have their own folk-traditions, are organized by rules of caste into a communal whole, and who in some cases have traditions of migrations from other parts of the country, and differ in physical character and in speech from their neighbours. The Saurāshtrans present all these characteristics, but they are exceptional in two respects: first, in having developed the interesting literature in their own language of which the preceding paragraphs have given a preliminary outline¹; and secondly, in the fact that a famous inscription² is always mentioned in connection with them. Of this document the purport is as follows.

THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION

At some unspecified date before A.D. 437, possibly at the time when Candragupta II conquered Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar (c. A.D. 395-400), a community famed for their skill as silk-weavers migrated collectively³ from the province of Lāṭa to Daśapura, the modern Mandasor in Western Mālwa. “Now women-folk may be young and lovely, and may have the customary garland and *pān* and flowers to hand, but they will never go to meet their lovers until they have put on their two-piece suits of silk. And these silk-weavers had adorned the whole of that land with silken raiment of variegated colour, pleasant to feel, a joy to the eye. Yet they

¹ The Saurāshtran Literary Committee has courteously given permission for the publication of samples of this literature in text and translation, and their Secretary, Mr. K. V. Padmanābha Aiyar, has promised collaboration. But the project must wait on opportunity.

² The Mandasor inscription of Mālava years 493 and 529 (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18).

³ Mr. F. J. Richards points out in a letter that a drastic administrative control of textile workers finds some parallel in the East India Company's policy in the Salem District at the end of the eighteenth century. See his *Salem District Gazetteer* (1918, vol. i, part 1, p. 260). Sir Atul Chatterjee has suggested that the migrations of the Saurāshtrans may have been partly determined by climatic conditions favourable to silk-weaving.

reflected that man's estate has the breeze-blown instability of a bright flower-spray which is a fairy's ear-ornament, and similarly accumulated wealth, however great; and they came to have a wise and steadfast mind. And so—in the reign of Kumāragupta the governor Viśvavarman had a son Bandhuvarman, and when this very Bandhuvarman was governor of Daśapura, the silk-weavers, as a guild, with the capital accumulated by their skill, caused a noble and peerless temple of the Sun to be built, dazzling white, with broad and lofty spires.¹ It was dedicated on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya after the completion of 493 years in the Mālava era.² But, by lapse of much time and other kings,³ part of the temple had fallen into ruin; and so, for the increase of their fame, the noble guild restored the whole noble temple of the Sun, on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya, when 529 years were completed.⁴ And Vatsabhaṭṭi⁵ carefully composed the foregoing account of

¹ These *śikhara*s are again mentioned in the later couplet describing the temple after restoration. It appears that no remains of the period illustrate this feature: but in the brief section of the *Brhat-saṃhitā* (56) on temple-designs, some of the twenty types have *śikhara*s (in the plural. Bühler's suggestion that the plural is "honorific" is unnecessary). The author of the *Brhat-saṃhitā*, Varāhamihira, died in A.D. 587. Some discussion of the *śikhara* in its early stages is to be found in *Rupam*, 1922, No. 10, pp. 42–56 (*Notes on the History of Śikhara Temples*, by Gurudas Sarkar) and *ibid.*, 1924, No. 17, pp. 2–6 (*Beginning of the śikhara of the Nagara [Indo-Aryan] Temples*, by Ramaprasad Chanda).

² Mālava year 494 current. The date is December-January, A.D. 437–8.

³ *bahunā samatītena kālenānyaiś ca pāṛthivaiḥ*. "Other kings" seems to me to suggest foreign occupation of Daśapura, since otherwise there would be some implied reproach of the Guptas and of Bandhuvarman or his family. Perhaps Skandagupta and the ruler of Daśapura suffered some reverse at the hands of the Huns before (say) 468. I suggest that Bandhuvarman was still ruling Daśapura in 473 when the temple was restored. There is nothing in the epigraphic evidence relating to this family to suggest the contrary; and the present tense *abhihātī* used of Bandhuvarman in verse 27 seems to support this supposition, which disposes of what has always been felt to be a serious difficulty—the failure to mention the ruler's name in connection with the date of the restoration of the temple.

⁴ February–March, A.D. 473.

⁵ Bühler takes a poor view of Vatsabhaṭṭi's gifts. It may be admitted that he was not a court-poet, but a private scholar who was perhaps glad to get a fee from the guild for writing the poem. It seems to me that he produced a pleasing poem, reasonably competent in its technique. Apart from Fleet's edition and translation the *locus classicus* on the inscription is still Bühler's discussion at pp. 8–29 and 70–1 (with text and emendations at pp. 91–6) in *Die indische Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie* (Vienna, *Sitzungsberichte*, cxxii, 1890). Bühler, and Kielhorn (*Göttingen, Nachrichten*, 1890, pp. 251–3), thought that Vatsabhaṭṭi borrowed something from the *R̥tusamhāra* and *Meghadūta*; and this has been used to date Kālidāsa.

the matter: may it be well with him who composed it, him who engraved it, him who recites it, and him who hears it!"

MIGRATIONS OF THE SAURĀSHTRANS

The foregoing paragraph embodies a literal translation of portions of the inscription. Its intrinsic interest is such that I am not disposed to offer an apology for introducing it, and it is in fact relevant to an account of the modern Saurāshtrans for either or both of two reasons: first, because it gives a picture dating from the fifth century A.D. of just such a self-contained industrial community, valuing learning and letters as well as industrial skill,¹ as is exemplified in the modern Saurāshtrans: and secondly, because it is, as suggested elsewhere,² a reasonable conjecture that the Mandasor community were ancestors or collaterals of the modern Saurāshtrans, who might (if this conjecture were justified) claim the inscription as their earliest literary record. Their own tradition (p. 153 *supra*) is that their early home was Surāṣṭra, whence they migrated first to Deogiri, the Yādava capital (founded A.D. 1187-8), then to Vijayanagar (founded A.D. 1316), and finally into their present homes in and around Tanjore, Madura, Dindigul, and other localities in the Tamil country. They sometimes use a *Saurāṣṭra-vijaya* era, dating from 1311 or 1312, which coincides approximately with the extinction of the Yādava dynasty of Deogiri, and may (though the name of the era does not indicate this) commemorate their departure from that city. There is an interval of twenty-five years between this date and the foundation of Vijayanagar (1336), their next recorded home. They may again have begun to infiltrate southwards and eastwards before the downfall of the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1565, and perhaps the Nāyaks who ruled Madura as

¹ The inscription says that some of the community were skilled in astrology, others intent on great deeds and versed in story, others given to discourses of true religion, while others had renounced worldly things and lived like gods among men. The community included skilled archers; and some were at that moment (A.D. 473) showing their prowess in battle.

² *An Indo-Aryan language of South India: Saurāṣṭra-bhāṣā*. In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xi, i (1943). Bühler drew attention to the Mandasor inscription in connection with the account of the Saurāshtrans in the 1891 *Census of India*, and all later accounts of the Saurāshtrans refer to it—the implication being that there is possibly a connection of some kind between the ancient Mandasor guild and the modern community. The Saurāshtrans themselves, on the other hand, make no reference to the inscription, as noted above (p. 155, footnote 1).

subordinate chiefs of Vijayanagar from 1499 had induced some of them to migrate to that city¹ at an early date. For the early history (prior to the migration to Deogiri) the tradition gives no information, beyond the statement that they came from Surāshtra (Sorath) at an unspecified date. By their own account they would have come under the rule of all the successive dynasties which ruled or exercised suzerainty over Kathiawar from the times of the Satraps—the Guptas, Yaśodharman, the Valabhi kings,² and the rest down to the Solankis of Anhilwar.³ So valuable a community would have enjoyed (or suffered from) the patronage of successive rulers, which might from time to time have led to collective migrations of sections of the community to a new protector's capital or to a site which his advisers might consider economically advantageous. The migration referred to in the Mandasor inscription is an illustration of what may well have happened many times. It is therefore difficult to envisage any period at which the whole community would have been collected in one home. It seems that there would always have been outlying sections of the community; sometimes pioneers of what might (or might not) afterwards become a much larger migration, sometimes the residue left by a receding wave of migration in places which might be remote from any large focus of diffusion. Tradition would have simplified the facts, representing as a single mass-movement what was probably a succession of waves of migration from one focal point to another. The tradition of the main migration would be preserved by the migrants who followed that line of diffusion, that is, the modern Saurāshtrans. But there would be others who diverged at one point or another from the main migration-movement. They would develop partly different traditions; and (if they were less compact and less numerous bodies) might cease

¹ See R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (1900), p. 384 and footnote 2. Vijayanagar exercised suzerainty over a wide area, and Saurāshtrans may have migrated early to various parts of that empire.

² It may be worth noting that a copper-plate of Śīlāditya I dated A.D. 608-9 records a grant for the maintenance of a temple of the Sun. It was a temple of the Sun that the Mandasor guild erected. The modern Saurāshtrans say that they were originally sun-worshippers. The second class in their ancient communal order were *Saulins* (p. 154 *supra*); *sauli-vamśa* is used in the *Saurāshtra-Rāmāyaṇa* of the family of Daśaratha, apparently in the sense of *sūrya-vamśa*: and the *Saurāshtra-Nandi-nighaṇṭu* gives among names for the Sun the word *sauli*.

³ They annexed Sorath in A.D. 1113-14.

to use the language. In some such way as this ¹ might be envisaged a possible connection between the Saurāshtrans of South India and other (ancient and modern) migrant communities ; including the silk-weavers of the Mandasor inscription.

¹ This line of thought was suggested to me by Sir Atul Chatterjee. He drew my attention to such weaving centres as Ahmedabad and Burhanpur and pointed out that inquiry into the weaving communities there and elsewhere might yield interesting results. I am not able to pursue the particular investigations indicated ; but his criticism of my first view about the migration of the Saurashtrans has led me to the point of view here expressed.

Hebrew Notes

By G. R. DRIVER

IT is a truism that incomplete or incorrect solutions of problems may serve a useful purpose in drawing attention to unsuspected difficulties, illuminate them, and even lead the same or subsequent workers to success; and thus I often regard my own suggestions as well as those of colleagues as mere gropings towards the light, though with no derogatory intention towards them. I was therefore very glad of Dr. Guillaume's article on "Magical Terms in the Old Testament" (*JRAS.*, 1942, pp. 111-131), as it drew my attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the current interpretation of קִיָּוָה and some other Hebrew words; as, however, his reply shows that he has not appreciated certain of my remarks, I begin this article with a brief answer to his observations. Thereafter I similarly attempt to advance beyond or, it may be, to improve on several suggestions which Dr. Eitan makes in his "Contributions to Biblical Lexicography" (Columbia, New York, 1924) by way of illustrating my point.

On pp. 251-4 of the present volume Dr. Guillaume replies to my objections to his suggestion that the Hebr. קִיָּוָה or קִיָּוָה or קִיָּוָה = the Acc. *awātu* or *amātu* "binding curse", but I am unable to agree to his strictures.

I can but regret that he cannot, as he says, reconcile my statements; my point, which I repeat, is that I accept the literal sense (e.g. of רָמָה as meaning "slandered" rather than "deceived" on p. 19) but not the magical connotation of several of his proposed interpretations of Hebrew words. I have studied his "Prophecy and Divination" to which he refers me, and feel there as here, that he makes insufficient distinction between conjecture and proof.

My point about כָּפַר in Is. xlvii, 11, is that, as the Acc. *kuppuru* and the Hebr. כָּפַר have no necessary magical connotation, so the verb is not bound to have it here; indeed, the fact that the parallel שָׁחַר has no such implication, as Dr. Guillaume admits, lessens the likelihood that כָּפַר has it in this passage, whatever it may mean elsewhere. The truth is that the \sqrt{kpr} describes simply the operation of wiping, clearing away, getting rid of a thing, whether in the literal or in the metaphorical sense¹; consequently, as כָּפַר פְּנִים is to פָּשַׁע, so כָּפַר עֵין or פָּשַׁע is to בִּחָה עֵין or פָּשַׁע, and no enthusiast

¹ Driver in *J.T.S.*, xxxiv, 34-8.

for magic, so far as I remember (not even Dr. Guillaume), has claimed that *מורה* refers to magical practices.

The basis of my argument concerning his interpretation of *מורה* is that (i) it is almost certainly not the same word as *awātu* (of which in any case the root is hopelessly obscure owing to the three weak radical letters, so that it has no value as evidence),¹ and (ii) that, even if it did connote "evil word" in the magical sense of a "binding curse", it would not follow that an *ex hypothesi* cognate *מורה* had acquired the same secondary sense; to argue so is to commit a methodological fallacy. In fact *awātu* unqualified connotes "evil word" only in professedly magical texts in which the context lends it such colour; otherwise some such adjective as *limnitu* "evil" must be attached to it to give it the required sense. I submit that the Hebrew text nowhere imperatively requires *מורה* to bear a magical sense; the nearest approach to such a possibility is in Ps. xci, 3, but even there the parallel "snare" does not inevitably import magical but only metaphorical usage. The views of the medieval Jewish scholars on such a subject are of little if any value and are offset by that of the ancient translators, of whom not one recognizes *מורה* as a term of magical import in any passage.

It is curious that Dr. Guillaume objects to my rendering of Ps. v, 10, as

"all the day thou devisest windy words
(with) thy tongue as a sharpened sword working slander"

on the ground that I give "a 'razor' to raise the wind"; he seems to have forgotten such phrases as a "sharp tongue" and "cutting wind", and he has undermined his own objection to the mixed metaphor by quoting from another Oriental work, the Rigveda, the analogous expression "thou art an arrow sharpened by our prayer".

Similarly, Dr. Guillaume dislikes my taking "he that dissembleth windy words" and "he that doeth mischief by law" or "statute"² in Ps. xciv, 20 as referring to two persons; he may be right, but it is noteworthy that the wrongdoers are described in the plural number elsewhere in this Psalm and only here, on his interpretation, in the singular number. I am free therefore to assume two persons, a blustering accuser and a wily advocate or corrupt judge, invoking God's help in a partnership to compass the Psalmist's ruin by legal means.

Dr. Guillaume then argues that I have twice given my case away: (i) by admitting the rendering of *לִבִּי כִמְהֵרָה* by "my heart is bewitched" in Ps. xxxviii, 11,³ and (ii) by pointing out that the parallel Ugar. *hmt*, *hwt* or *hyt*, is the ordinary term for "word" without any evil or magical implications in the texts from Râs Shamrah. I cannot

¹ Most probably identified with the root underlying the Syr. *ܡܪܗ* or *ܡܪܗ* *iuravit* (s. Muss-Arnolt, *Conc. Dict. of the Ass. Lang.*, 63 and Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², 303).

² So rather than "unlawfully" after Mowinkel's *wider das Gesetz* (s. Brown-Driver-Briggs, "Hebr. Lex.," 754a, under *על*; cf. *Jes. b. Sir.*, xliv, 15); for "law" and "statute" are, *pace* Dr. Guillaume, to all intents and purposes the same thing in the language of poetry!

³ Thomas in *J.T.S.*, xl, 390-1.

concede his claim. On the first point, the \sqrt{shr} is *gemeinsemitisch* for bewitching, and neither I nor anyone else, so far as I know, denies that such terms as כַּשָּׁפ and כַּחֲר refer to witchcraft or doubt such practices among the Hebrews; what I dislike is the extent to which other expressions are forced on mere conjecture into the service of witchcraft. Of כַּחֲר no other translation is really admissible¹; for the old rendering was nonsensical.² On the second point, Dr. Guillaume must be quoted: he says that "since *hwt* meant 'word' in Râs Shamrah in the second millennium and 'evil word of power' in Jerusalem a thousand years later, and in Babylonia *aw/mātu* had both meanings,³ I do not think we need proceed further with the argument". That is indeed a wise conclusion; for his statement is a *petitio principii* which no *argumentum in circulo* will prove.⁴

Eitan in his above-mentioned work makes a number of suggestions, always interesting and often convincing, for clearing up difficulties in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; and I want here to draw attention to three passages in which he has acutely discussed the problems which he has remarked but has not quite succeeded, in my opinion, in pressing home his points or finishing off his explanations.

On p. 58 he rightly objects to the repetition of the same verb in חָפַז וְלִבּוֹ יַעֲשֶׂה אֵין לַעֲשׂוֹת חָפָה "and his heart will work iniquity to practise profaneness" (Is. xxxii, 6; R.V., which obscures the repetition) and seeks to resolve the difficulty by referring יַעֲשֶׂה to the Arab. غشى "concealed" and translating the clause "and his heart will conceal iniquity to practise profaneness". The sense thus won, however, is by no means clear, and I suggest rather altering לַעֲשׂוֹת to לַעֲשֵׂה and translating the clause "and his heart will work iniquity in devising profaneness"; the new verb will be identical with the Aram. עֲשִׂית "devised, planned, schemed",

¹ Cf. LXX's ἐραπάχη, Aq.'s ἐρπέμερο, Pesh.'s ܠܥܫܐ, Jer.'s *fluctuabat*, Vulg.'s *conturbatum est*, and Targ.'s צמרמר.

² In any case the expression is only metaphorical, as when St. Paul says, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" (Gal. iii, 1).

³ Can Dr. Guillaume cite a single passage in Accadian literature where *aw/mātu* without qualification connotes a spell outside a professedly magical text or context?

⁴ Dr. Guillaume's suggestion on p. 115, n. 2, that רעב in Ezek. v, 16, 17, means not "hunger", as usually supposed, but "spell" is in the highest degree improbable; for spells and wild beasts are not naturally associated, whereas hunger and wild beasts are in fact associated elsewhere in the Bible as common dangers (cf. Matt. iii, 2 with Mk. i, 13).

"tender (food)"¹ lies behind the Hebr. [מַעֲרָה] = Arab. مَعِي "entrail(s), intestine(s)", and it may be suggested that a \sqrt{lh} "tender", preserved only in the Eth. ለከሙ: *lehma* "was soft, tender",² similarly lies behind the Hebr. לָחֵם "flesh"³ and "bread" (as made from ground, i.e. soft corn), and the Arab. لَحْم "flesh, meat". It is then no far cry to postulate a Hebr. לָחֵם or *לָחֵם⁴ meaning "fleshy part(s)", i.e. entrails or intestines, distinct from the bones and muscles by which these are enclosed.⁵ If this reasoning is correct, the Acc. *lêmu, la'āmu laḥāmu* "to eat one's fill" like the Hebr. לָחֵם "ate" is a denominative verb from לָחֵם "bread"; and indeed its divergent forms suggest a West-Semitic loan-word.

On pp. 23-5 Eitan rightly observes that the verb in וַיִּקְפּוּ בְּפָנֵיהֶם in Ezek. vi, 9, is not קִיט but קִטַּט, and he accordingly proceeds to emend וַיִּקְפּוּתָם to וַיִּקְטַטְתָם in Ezek. xx, 43, and xxxvi, 31; he then compares this Hebr. קִטַּט with the Eth. [\sqrt{qt} , as seen in] ባጠፋ: *q'atūl* "slender, slight, thin",⁶ and renders the first passage by "and they shall be belittled in their faces", i.e. feel themselves humiliated by their abominations, and the other two passages *mutatis mutandis* likewise. The sense thus obtained indeed fits these three passages, but hardly suits the other two where the same verb again occurs, namely, וַיִּרְאוּ בְּרֵאשֵׁי וַיִּתְּקוּ טַטָּה in Ps. cxix, 158, and וַיִּתְּקוּ מִמֶּיָּה (וַיִּתְּקוּ מִמֶּיָּה or rather) וַיִּתְּקוּ מִמֶּיָּה⁷ in Ps. cxxxix, 21, which he translates respectively "I saw the treacherous and quarrelled" and "and I quarrelled with them that rose up against Thee", apparently following Jewish tradition. This, however, is a counsel of despair, as the idea of quarrelling for

¹ Cognate also with مَعِي "was soft (leather)", as Gesenius has remarked.

² Dillmann, *Lex. Ling. Aeth.*, 30-1.

³ As in לָחֵם אַבְרִיִּים "flesh of bulls" (Jes. b. Sir., vii, 31).

⁴ Formed like בְּחוֹץ "thumb, big toe" (Jud. i, 6, 7).

⁵ So also the Arab. مَعَد "fresh, tender (fruit, vegetables)", and مَعَد "belly (of human beings)" seem to be connected. Thus, too, a \sqrt{rhm} "tender" appears to lie behind the Hebr. רֶחֶם "womb", from which רָחַם "loved, pitied" will be a denominative verb (Gerber, *Hebr. Verb. Denom.*, 126).

⁶ Dillmann, *Lex. Ling. Aeth.*, 471-2.

⁷ As suggested by Hare with two Hebrew MSS. (Kennicott).

התקוטט receives no support from philology, and this and נקט must bear kindred meanings if both are derived from קטט, as Eitan evidently and rightly postulates. Can they be explained on this assumption?

Now the LXX render נקט by various parts of κόπτεσθαι "to cut oneself", while the Arab. Vs. has ويقطعون وجوههم "and they shall cut their faces" in Ezek. vi, 9; these renderings are taken in a metaphorical sense by the Syrohex. Vs., which has סנכסס "and they shall lament" in Ezek. vi, 9, and סלזסס "and ye shall lament" in Ezek. xx, 43, and xxxvi, 31. Further the Targ. similarly has ותדנכון "and ye shall lament" in the last two passages. Some such translation then as "and they shall cut themselves in their faces", i.e. they shall mourn for their evil deeds, admirably suits the context of the first passage and may be accepted with the necessary changes for the other two passages. It rests on the assumption of a Hebr. [קטט] "cut", identical with the Arab. قَطَّ *secuit; brevis et crispus fuit, de capillo*¹ (Freytag).

In the two passages of the Psalms the sense of התקוטט will be fundamentally the same although the *nuance* will be slightly different, that not so much of grief as of annoyance or vexation; they may therefore be translated respectively "and I have seen the traitors and been vexed at their conduct" and "and I have been vexed at them that rise up against Thee",² which agrees nicely with the parallel אשנא "I hate". The figure of speech is analogous to that of the English "to be cut up" in the sense of being grieved at something.

Eitan further finds the same root in the mysterious נמעט קט in Ezek. xvi, 46; here clearly קט is a noun meaning "fragment, small piece", so that נמעט קט may be translated literally "like the littleness of a small piece", i.e. "a very little, only a little",

¹ This secondary sense, curiously enough, is represented by the Pesh.'s ܩܬܬܐ *corrugatus fuit*, which appears in all three passages of Ezekiel and thus further supports the existence of a Hebr. קטט as postulated by Eitan.

² Namely במקוממיד (see p. 169, n. 7). Otherwise a plural abstract noun with prefixed ה (cf. תעלולים "wantonness", and so on) with an objective genitive case (cf. בעברות צוררי "in indignation against any foes", in Ps. vii, 7) must be assumed, when the meaning will be "and I have been vexed at the opposition to Thee"; but the ancient Vss. and the parallel משנאיד as well as grammatical formation militate against such an interpretation.

or the like. The Arab. قِط "portion" and قَط or قَطَا "only" from the same root support the assumption of a cognate Hebrew word, and indeed the Vulg.'s *parvillum minus* confirms not only the meaning of the word but its presence in the Hebrew text; it is not therefore to be deleted as a dittograph of the last two letters of the preceding word, as Gesenius assumes, simply because the LXX and the Pesh. have nothing corresponding to it. Indeed, the evidence of the LXX is invalidated by the Syrohex. Vs., whose **חלל חלל** shows that some of its MSS. (cf. Q) represented both words; for the Syrohex. Vs. was made from that of the LXX.

This development of the meaning of the $\sqrt{\text{חט}}$ to denote what is little or small was early, since several of the ancient translators already knew it. Thus Symmachus translates נִקְטָתָם by μικροὶ φανήσεσθε in Ezek. xx, 43, and by μικρυνθήσεσθε in Ezek. xxxvi, 31, and the Syrohex. Vs. has ܚܬܝܠ "ye shall be small" in the margin at this last passage. The omission therefore of any word corresponding with חט by the LXX and in the Pesh. must be due, not to its absence from the Hebrew text before them, but to their ignorance of the meaning of a word which happened to occur only once in the Old Testament, although other translators knew or were able to guess what it meant.

Thus a Hebr. נִקְטָתָם "was grieved" and חֲתָקוּטָם "was vexed" as well as חט "small amount" or the like may be restored to the dictionaries on the testimony of several of the ancient versions supported by the results of comparative philology, which shows that the fundamental meaning of the $\sqrt{q\dot{t}}$ is that of cutting up into pieces, whether in a literal or a metaphorical sense. It may, too, be not far-fetched to regard the common Semitic $\sqrt{q\dot{t}n}$ "small" and the Arab. قَطع = Syr. ܚܬܝܠ "cut" as cognate roots, and to compare the Syr. ܬܕܪܝܬܝܢܐ *taedruit me*¹ and the Eth. ቅጥጥጥ *qetqūt* "contrite (in spirit)"² with the meaning suggested for the Hebrew words here discussed.

I offer then these notes in the hope of reaching a satisfactory solution of several still incompletely resolved problems by utilizing previous suggestions as the starting-point of my inquiry.

¹ Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², 660; see Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, 43.

² From ቅጥጥጥ: *qatqata* "broke, bruised" (Dillmann, *Lex. Ling. Aeth.*, 469-472).

The Music of The Arabian Nights

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

السباع لقوم كالغداء ولقوم كالدواء ولقوم كالمروحة

"To some people music is like food ; to others like medicine ; and to others like a fan."—*The Porter and the Three Ladies*.

PART I

THE musical interlude which adorns so many a story in *The Thousand Nights and One Night* is one of the most interesting features of that "wondrous treasury of Muslim folk-lore", as Burton dubbed the *Alf laila wa laila*.¹ Yet, strange to say, our translators and commentators have taken little cognizance of this fact. Indeed, beyond the brief and inadequate notices contributed by Lane² to his translation of the *Nights*, it can safely be averred that no serious attention has been devoted to the subject. It was on this account that the present study was made.

The texts used are those of Calcutta (1839-1842), Beyrout (1888-1892), and Bulaq (1893-5 = 1311-12 A.H.). Unless otherwise specified, the references in the footnotes are to the Calcutta text. What follows in round brackets refers to Burton's translation (London, 1886-7).

§ I

THE FUNCTION OF THE MUSIC

Almost everywhere in the *Nights* we see music in the predicament of being linked with Wine and Woman among the *malāhī* or forbidden pleasures against which the Muslim purists hurled anathema. Both Lane and Burton only touch the fringe of this subject, but by saying too little imply too much. Whilst Burton expresses the view that "Muḥammad objected to music"³ Lane is more peremptory and states that "Music was condemned by the Prophet almost as severely as wine".⁴ The truth is that we have as much evidence that Muḥammad did not discountenance listening to music (*al-samāʿ*) as that he did, a point which I have emphasized more than once.⁵ That is why Muslim society, both high and low,

¹ *Arabian Nights*, Lady Burton's edition (London, 1886-7), i, p. ix.

² *The Thousand and One Nights* (London, 1883).

³ vi, 59.

⁴ i, 200.

⁵ *History of Arabian Music*, chap. ii : *Music : The Priceless Jewel*, sect. 3 and 4.

in spite of the fulminations of the moralists, have ever appreciated music, as the *Nights* prove conclusively.

As our verse- Prelude testifies, music was put to other uses than mere concomitance to the forbidden pleasures, and we see that to the *sūfī* and *darwīsh* music was "food" because it sustained them in their devotions. Does not the pseudo-dervish in the *Nights* say, "Our food is the remembrance of Allāh in our hearts and the listening to singers with our ears."¹ Unfortunately this usage of music is but rarely averted to in the *Nights*, and even then merely *en passant*, such as the reference to the *tallā'* of the Sublime *Qur'ān*² the *munshid* at the *dhikr*,³ the *mu'adhdhin* at the minaret,⁴ or the *nā'iha* at the funeral.⁵ Yet there are scores of Arabic treatises on music as an aid to devotion.⁶

The above verse also tells us that music was "medicine", a circumstance due to the fact that the art had its place in therapeutics. It was not the mere soothing effect of music on the mind that was held to have curative power, but rather a theory in which mathematics, astronomy, and music were linked together in an elaborate system which produced cures according to certain proportions.⁷ The system was actually followed in the hospitals.⁸

Yet to the great majority of people music was, as we shall see, as refreshing as "a fan" on a sultry day although, to the hedonistic crowd as displayed in the *Nights*, usually to the accompaniment of Wine and Woman. The stories and verses testify this abundantly. "Drinking without music (*tarab*) is not pleasant," says the *Shaiikh* Ibrāhīm,⁹ whilst another urges that "drinking without listening to music (*al-samā'*) lacks its essential joy",¹⁰ and a third admonishes with a saying of Baghdād that "wine without listening to music results in the headache".¹¹ The needs of the man who wished to drink in the tale of Ibrāhīm and Jamīla further illustrates the point. Although he merely "wished to drink" he says to the porter, "Buy us fresh fruit and wine . . . and dessert and flowers, and five plump fowls, and bring me an 'ūd (lute)."¹²

¹ ii, 88 (ii, 463).

² iv, 649 (vi, 124).

³ i, 591 (ii, 112).

⁴ i, 246 (i, 277).

⁵ i, 244 (i, 275).

⁶ Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music*, 92.

⁷ Farmer, *The Influence of Music*, 12.

⁸ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay edit.), iii, 67: Farmer, *Sa'adyah Gaon*, 6.

⁹ i, 304 (i, 336).

¹⁰ iv, 259 (v, 291).

¹¹ ii, 163 (iii, 15).

¹² iv, 541 (vi, 30).

Indeed it was to the drinking chamber (*majlis al-sharāb*) that guests retired to hear the singing-girls.¹ Thus the second of the "forbidden pleasures", Woman, enters the scene, with the inevitable result. Harken to 'Alī Nūr al-Dīn in the *Nights* chanting, "A lutanist to us inclined, and stole our wits bemused with wine."² Or, as another sings, "The fawn of a maid bent her lute in hand, and her music made us right mettlesome."³

Those who may recall the delightful fantasy of Al-Fashshār (The Boaster) in *The Barber's Tale of his Fifth Brother*, where "Wine, Woman, and Song" stand out in high relief, will remember how he bragged that he would have every singer and songstress in the city perform at his bidding when Dame Fortune smiled on him.⁴ Yet this gratification in the witching charms of music was a costly affair in these days and small fortunes were gifted to the practitioners of the art, as we shall see. In the story of *The Man Who Never Laughed* the moral of spending to excess on music (*tarab*) and other delights is made plain.⁵ The theme is an old one and is often discanted in Arabic literature, hence the proverb, "Man listens [to music], rejoices, spends money, reflects, grieves, and dies."⁶ Yet despite the reams of moralizing the Arab still says, "Better a liberal sinner than a stingy saint."

In these diversions of the upper and middle classes, the art of music reached its apogee in Islamic lands, for it was in these surroundings that Arabian classical music was born and nurtured. Here the great vocal *qaṣīda*, *qitā'*, and *nuṣṭa* were cultivated as well as the vocal and instrumental suite the *nauba*. Yet all that was performed was no more than what we would term chamber music. Indeed, in the early tales of the *Nights*, it was generally the 'ūd (lute), either alone or with some accompanying pulsatile instrument, a *duff* (tambourine) or *ṭabl* (drum), that was used to play with a singer or to perform an instrumental *divertimento*.

Sometimes we read of the *nāy* (flute) being used with the 'ūd, or even the *nāy* or *shabbāba* (fife) alone,⁷ although there would invariably be a *duff* or *ṭabl* added for the rhythm. Then we see the *jank* (harp) and *sinṭūr* (dulcimer) complementing each other,⁸ and

¹ i, 274 (i, 307).

² iv, 264 (v, 296).

³ i, 309 (i, 341). The Arabic is much plainer.

⁴ i, 265 (i, 297).

⁵ iii, 146 (iv, 96).

⁶ Burckhardt, *Arab. Prov.*, No. 335.

⁷ iv, 172 (v, 191).

⁸ ii, 654 (iii, 428).

of the *'ūd*, *duff*, and *qānūn* (psaltery) in company.¹ The largest chamber music combination in the *Nights* is the inclusion of the *'ūd*, *jank*, *qānūn*, *nāy*, and *duff*, in what might be termed an orchestra,² but this was not usual, and certainly not in the days of the Umayyads and early 'Abbāsids, although we have several iconographic instances of such a "consort of instruments" later.

Although all this indulgence in the "forbidden pleasures" by the upper and middle classes, as displayed in the *Nights*, was railed at by the strict men of Islām, it mattered little, since the classes could point triumphantly to the Khalifate court as their example. The masses were no different, and even they set the fiats of the piously-minded at naught where the intriguing *qaina* (singing-girl) of the tavern was concerned. All and sundry were prepared to fritter away their *darāhīm* (silver coins) where a pretty face and alluring song prompted, for the "wanton one", as the Islamic purists would say, expected her clients to be liberal. Others, it would seem, made their own music when they went wine bibbing, as did the hunchback who took his *duff* with him.³

Then there is the other side of the picture, for music could still be "as refreshing as a fan" without being associated with Wine and Woman, and it is thus that we see it amongst the folk, the people at large, as the *Nights* frequently record, like the bath-keeper with his drum (*darbukka*),⁴ or the negro with his reed-pipe (*mizmār*),⁵ or the corn chandler and scavenger who danced as they sang.⁶

At all private and public festivities, vocal and instrumental music were indispensable. Guests were frequently welcomed by slaves beating their tambourines (*dūfūf*).⁷ At births,⁸ and marriages⁹ the professional songstresses (*mughannīyāt*) could be heard singing their joyous lays to the beating of the square (*dūff*) or round tambourine (*ṭār*), the latter also serving as the collecting box for the customary tips (*nuqūṭ*),¹⁰ for it was said that "Singing without tips (*nuqūṭ*) is like a corpse without aromatics (*ḥunūt*)".¹¹

¹ i, 67 (i, 83).

² i, 372 (i, 395).

³ i, 203 (i, 230).

⁴ i, 244 (i, 274).

⁵ ii, 179 (iii, 30).

⁶ i, 244 (i, 275).

⁷ i, 373 (i, 396).

⁸ i, 353 (i, 378).

⁹ i, 165 (i, 191).

¹⁰ *Nuqūṭ* is quite a late word. Both Payne and Burton say that the root *naqaṭa* means "to handse, i.e. to mark or cross the palm of a singing-girl with silver". *Naqaṭa* simply means "to let fall in drips", hence the "drippings" or "tips" which fall into the *ṭār* of the songstress are called *nuqūṭ*.

¹¹ Burckhardt, op. cit., No. 464.

When outdoor music was required at private or public festivities it was the tambourine, drum, and reed-pipe that made the welkin ring,¹ for the cry was, "Gladden thine heart, drum thine drum, and pipe thine reed-pipe."² Indeed, some of the instrumental combinations which were used on public occasions may conceivably have been provided by folk-minstrels rather than by official bands, although more generally perhaps this was supplied by the military authorities.

In such a work as the *Nights*, where the martial throng creates almost as much interest as the love theme, it is only natural that military music should find ample mention. Although generally known as the *ṭabl khāna*, as I have explained elsewhere,³ the military band is spoken of in the *Nights* as the *nauba*,⁴ its chief function in times of peace being the performance of certain pieces of music at particular hours (نُوب) of the day, hence the term *nauba*, as well as at official ceremonies.⁵ Indeed the phrase *daqqaṭ al-bashā'ir*, used in announcing glad tidings in the *Nights* and elsewhere, shows that it was the drum which was struck (*daqqa*) to announce these glad tidings.⁶

In time of war the *nauba* played an important part, as may be gathered from such stories as the *History of Gharīb and his Brother 'Ajīb* and the *Story of Jānshāh*. In battle array the *nauba* was usually drawn up away from the actual conflict, where it played unceasingly during the strife. So long as the music lasted the army fought on, and even a division forced to retreat would often return to the fray because its *nauba* was still playing.

Two definite calls or signals are mentioned in the *Nights*, viz. the "Battle" (*al-harb*)⁷ and the "Retreat" (*al-infiṣāl*),⁸ both being sounded on the drum (*ṭabl*), although the former is sometimes announced by the cymbals (*kāsāt*).⁹ We also read of the cymbals proclaiming the "March".¹⁰

The *nauba* or military band described in the *Nights* comprises various combinations. Generally it is simply the drum, or the

¹ i, 680 (ii, 196).

² *Encyclopædia of Islām*, v, 217.

³ i, 700 (ii, 202).

⁴ ii, 282 (iv, 228).

⁵ iii, 298 (iv, 242). Probably "kettledrums" (*kūsāt*) are meant.

⁶ ii, 57 (ii, 159). Beyrout edit. "kettledrums" (*kūsāt*) instead of "cymbals" (*kāsāt*).

⁷ ii, 32 (ii, 413).

⁸ i, 95 (i, 114); iv, 528 (vi, 65).

⁹ iii, 617 (v, 7).

¹⁰ iii, 283 (iv, 229).

kettledrum, or the cymbals which sound in civic or battle scenes.¹ Yet sometimes we read of horns and drums,² horns and cymbals,³ drums and cymbals,⁴ reed-pipes and cymbals,⁵ or reed-pipes and drums.⁶ Occasionally there are such groups as drums, horns, and kettledrums,⁷ drums, reed-pipes, and kettledrums,⁸ drums, reed-pipes, and cymbals.⁹ The largest instrumental display in the *Nights* is seen in cymbals horns, drums, and reed-pipes,¹⁰ although on another occasion one trumpet (*naḡīr*) is added to the preceding array.¹¹

With such material one can quite believe the *rāwī* of the *Nights* when he tells us that it "silenced all ears"¹² or that the sounds made "the very earth tremble".¹³ The value of noise in battle as a consternator was well recognized by the so-called Saracens, and we read that even the mules and camels were caparisoned with grelots (*jalājīl*), clinkets (*qalāqīl*), and bells (*ajrās*) so as to create dismay.¹⁴ One recalls the description of Saladin's steed in the *Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion*:

"His crouper heeng al full of belles."

From what has preceded we can appreciate the many uses to which music was put in the *Nights*—as an inspiration to the dervish, as a cure for the physician, as diversion to the hedonist, as gladness to the steadfast, and as stimulation to the warrior. Yet music was something more. Although the art was developed in its highest form among the leisured classes, even midst the more proscribed *malāhī*, it was here that we catch a glimpse that it was sometimes appreciated for itself alone, although such an attitude of mind was forbidden by some of the *fuqahā*. We also know that as a science which engaged the minds of the greatest Muslim thinkers, an Al-Fārābī and an Ibn Sīnā, it was also given recognition in the *Nights*, where even the *qaina* Tawaddud boasted of her knowledge of the theory of music (*fann al-mūsīqā*).¹⁵

¹ iv, 45 (v, 84): iii, 271 (iv, 217).

² i, 403 (i, 420).

³ iv, 616 (vi, 95).

⁴ i, 80 (i, 97).

⁵ ii, 649 (iii, 425).

⁶ ii, 569 (ii, 432).

⁷ iii, 303 (iv, 246).

⁸ iii, 293 (iv, 328). See my article in *Islāmic Culture*, xv, p. 240.

⁹ ii, 493 (iii, 281).

¹⁰ i, 559 (ii, 84).

¹¹ iii, 150 (iv, 100).

¹² ii, 32 (ii, 413).

¹³ ii, 96, Beyrout edit. (ii, 202).

¹⁴ ii, 656 (iii, 430).

¹⁵ ii, 569 (ii, 432).

§ II

THE EFFECT OF THE MUSIC

The greatest praise that can be paid an Arab musician is to liken his performance to that of David the Prophet. The phrase often runs, as in the *Nights*, "as melodious as the psalms of the House of David,"¹ in which expression (*mazāmīr āl Dā'ūd*) we have "higher criticism" before its time.

Another form of compliment paid to singers was to compare their singing to "warbling" (*gharīd*),² or that its excellence "stayed the flight of birds".³ According to the *Qur'ān*,⁴ birds were the companions of David in singing the praises of Allāh, and so, with the psalmist, the warbling of birds was considered music *par excellence*, and the death of birds on hearing music was taken as proof of its "killing charm".⁵ The expression "kills with delight" in relation to music actually became quite a commonplace in Arabic literature.⁶

Death at the hearing of music is not a rarity in Arabic tales,⁷ and it occurs in the *Nights* in the story of *The Three Unfortunates*, which is said to have been related by Al-'Utbi.⁸ Swooning at music is a more general casualty, and in the *Nights* it happens in the stories of *The Lovers of Al-Medīna*⁹ and *The Ruined Man of Baghdad*.¹⁰

It is only by taking the fullest cognizance of what has been detailed above that we can understand the extravagant language used in the *Nights* and elsewhere in relation to the effect of music. It is averred that one performer's music would "deaden the quick and quicken the dead": of another's that "it made the unintelligible intelligible". Delightful anagogues. Yet when we are told that "it made the hardest stones dance for glee",¹¹ or that "the very room danced with excess of delight",¹² it is not mere verbal imagery or metaphor that prompts the storyteller but rather anthropomorphism. The literature of Arabian music reeks with this doctrine, as the *Nights* so often reveal, and perhaps the most

¹ ii, 83 (ii, 485).² ii, 450 (iii, 253).³ ii, 83 (ii, 485).⁴ *Sūrat*, xxi, 79; xxxiv, 10; xxxviii, 16.⁵ *Aghānī*, v, 52; Sa'di, *Gulistan*, iii, 28.⁶ *Aghānī* (Bulāq edit.), ix, 95.⁷ *Al-'iqd al-farīd* (Bulāq edit., 1887-8.), iii, 198.⁸ ii, 439 (iii, 242).⁹ iii, 412 (iv, 344).¹⁰ iv, 360 (v, 375).¹¹ ii, 88 (ii, 402).¹² i, 793 (ii, 291).

delightful of the anthropomorphic fantasies is that which invests the very instruments of music with human attributes.

As its name indicates, the lute ('*ūd*) itself was made of wood ('*ūd*), and the Arabs deluded themselves into the belief that the resonance of the instrument was due to the fact that the wood had absorbed the warbling of birds that had once perched on it when it was a branch of a tree. So the poet of the *Nights* chants ¹ :—

“ A tree whilere I was, the bulbuls' home,
To whom for love I bowed my grass-green head :
They moaned on me, and I their moaning learnt
And in that moan my secret all men read :
The woodman felled me without offence,
And slender lute of me (as view ye) made ;
But, when the fingers smite my strings, they tell
How man despite my patience did me dead ” :

Or as it says elsewhere, “[The lute] moaned and resounded, and after its older home yearned ; and it remembered the waters which gave it drink and the earth whence it sprang and whence it grew.”

Music being part of the macrocosmic system of the Arabic scientists and philosophers, the strings of the lute were linked up with that entertaining conceit known as “ the four-fold things ”, of which the singing-girl chants in the tale of '*Alī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle Girl*.

“ Seest not how four-fold things conjoin in one ? ”

The notion was hoary with antiquity, but in Islāmic times it was developed into a comprehensive system by Al-Kindī (d. 874).² It is merely hinted at in the *Nights*, but there is sufficient material in the story of *Abu'l-Husn and his slave-girl Tuwaddud* to enable us to draw up the conspectus on p. 180 which shows how music was irrevocably bound up with cosmic things. The classification of the constellations is inconsistent in the *Nights*, which is rather amusing in view of Tuwaddud's vaunted knowledge of the subject.³

Out of this conceit an ethoidal system was developed and every melodic and rhythmic mode had its particular *ethos*. It also governed the musico-medical practice already mentioned, but from the many contradictory tables which have come down to us the number of failures in treatment must have been high.

¹ iv, 262 (v, 294).

² Farmer, *The Influence of Music*, 12: Sa'adyah Gaon, 8-9.

³ ii, 493, 523, 526 (iii, 281, 312, 316).

THE FOURFOLD THINGS

[STRINGS OF THE LUTE	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zir</i>]
ELEMENTS	Water	Earth	Air	Fire
HUMOURS	Cold-moist	Cold-dry	Hot-moist	Hot-dry
PLANETS	Moon	Saturn	—	Sun
CONSTELLATIONS	Cancer Scorpio Pisces	Taurus Virgo Capricornus	Gemini Libra Aquarius	Aries Leo Sagittarius
PERFUMES	—	Rose	Myrtle	—

§ III

THE MAKERS OF THE MUSIC

The practitioners of music, as found in the *Nights*, are usually professionals, and these may be divided into four classes—the male minstrel, the instrumentalist, the songstress, and the singing-girl. At court they attended at specified hours known as their *nauba* or turn,¹ and generally played behind a curtain in a special apartment as described by Lane.² One of these curtains mentioned in the *Nights* was of brocade with tassels of silk and rings of gold.³

The minstrel (*mughannā*) of the *Nights* was a highly skilled singer and instrumentalist who, like the Medieval European minstrel, was also expected to have other accomplishments, including all that was desired of a “boon companion” (*naḍīm*). Most, if not all of those introduced into the *Nights* held positions as court minstrels, which brought them not only a regular stipend but the usual *largesse* which was often a small fortune in itself.

The instrumentalist (*mutrib*, *ālātī*) was so named in Arabic because he performed on an “instrument of emotion” (*ālāt al-tarab*), or “instrument of diversion” (*ālāt al-lahw*), these particular terms being often used so as to distinguish the musician who was primarily an instrumentalist.⁴ He also was to be found at the courts and the

¹ ii, 439 (iii, 242). I have shown in the *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 885, how the Arabian art form known as the *nauba* (*suite*) had its origin in this system of the court minstrels taking their “turn” at court.

² i, 203. This apartment (*mughanna*) was still to be found in Egypt in the time of Lane (*Modern Egyptians* [1860], 355), but there was lattice work as a screen instead of a curtain.

³ iv, 559 (vi, 47).

⁴ ii, 654 (iii, 428).

palaces of the nobility, but the name was also applied to the humbler type, whether urban or strolling, who supplied outdoor music with drum (*tabl*) and reed-pipe (*zmr*) at festival time.

The songstress (*mughannīya*) was frequently a matron or other freed-woman who had acquired her art as a singing-girl or had picked it up otherwise. She was the mainstay of private and public rejoicings, whether political or religious, when her tambourine was invariably in evidence.

The singing-girl (*qaina*) was also a songstress, but she was a slave. Rarely is she called a *qaina* in the *Nights*,¹ the more frequent terms being *mughannīya* or *jāriya*. She was usually specially trained for her profession and found her way, either by private barter or the slave market, into the families of the nobility and wealthy class, the price demanded for her being usually determined by her accomplishments and physical charms, although one recalls a saying of Sa'dī that "a sweet voice is better than a beautiful face".²

Fabulous sums were often paid for some of these singing-girls as is testified by both the *Aghānī* and the *Nights*. They were also held in high esteem, especially those who did not come as full-fledged *artistes* from the slave market but had been reared in the owner's household.³ It is asserted in the *Nights*⁴ and elsewhere⁵ that portraits of these girls adorned the houses of their masters, in spite of the ban of Islām.

The lives of some of these professional musicians are of extreme interest, since they reveal the intimate part which they played in the domestic and social life of the Arabian East. For that reason a few details from their lives as recorded in the *Nights* have been culled for insertion here. All the male musicians mentioned in the *Nights* were historic characters when the stories were compiled.

Yūnus al-Kātib (d. c. 765) is the subject of the story of *Yūnus the Scribe and Al-Walīd ibn Sahl*⁶ in which he and his singing-girl, who was his pupil, sing before the Prince Al-Walīd. Yūnus asks fifty thousand silver pieces for this girl and receives it together

¹ ii, 439 (iii, 242); iv, 172 (v, 191).

² *Gulistān*, iii, 28.

³ ii, 402 (iii, 208).

⁴ iii, 142 (iv, 97).

⁵ S. L. Poole, *History of Egypt*, v, 74.

⁶ Burton writes: "Khalif Al-Walīd," although the story distinctly states that the incident took place in the Khalifate of Hishām.

with a substantial tip.¹ When the Prince became Khalif in the year 743 Yūnus sang at his court at Damascus.

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī (d. 804) was at the courts of Al-Hādī and Hārūn, and appears in the *Nights* in the story of *Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī and the Devil*. The latter, who is called Abū Murra (Father of Myrrh),² visits Ibrāhīm and plays and sings to him so wondrously that it seemed as if "the doors and the walls and all that was in the house answered and sang with him, for the beauty of his voice". Ibrāhīm went to the palace immediately and repeated the music which he had heard to Khalif Hārūn.³ In the *Aghānī*, where the story is also told, the uncanny visitor is given his proper name Iblīs.⁴ We read of Ibrāhīm elsewhere, notably as the author of the story of *The Lovers of Al-Medīna*,⁵ in the story of *Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī and the Damsel Anīs al-Jalīs*,⁶ and as Khalif Hārūn's emissary in the story of *'Abdallāh ibn Fāḍil and His Brothers*,⁷ which reveals how highly this court minstrel was esteemed.

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 839) was the younger brother of Khalif Hārūn. In spite of the fact that it was not considered good form for a Muslim of such high standing to indulge seriously in music, Prince Ibrāhīm had been specially trained in the art. We read of his adventures in the story of *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī and the Merchant's Sister* where, lute in hand, he demonstrates how faultily a singing-girl performs a particular mode (*tarīqa*).⁸ The story of his arrest and pardon for his attempt to seize the Khalifate is contained in *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī and the Barber-Surgeon*.⁹ Here, however, Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī is wrongly credited with the arrest of the Prince in 825-6, since the great minstrel had been dead for twenty years.¹⁰

Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī (d. 850) was the greatest musician that the Golden Age produced, and even the *Nights* aver that "he was excelling in this art".¹¹ He is featured in the story of *Ishāq al-Mausilī* which tells us of an escapade with *Khadīja*, a singing-girl

¹ iii, 379 (iv, 315).

² The author of the *Tāj al-'arūs* tells us with all seriousness that this name given to the Devil, was due to the fact that his daughter's name was Murra.

³ iii, 388 (iv, 321).

⁴ v, 36. See also Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālib al-budār*, i, 241.

⁵ iii, 411 (iv, 344).

⁶ i, 305 (i, 337).

⁷ iv, 635 (vi, 108).

⁸ ii, 298 (iii, 123).

⁹ ii, 138 (ii, 511).

¹⁰ The *Nights*, however, may be correct and history may be wrong.

¹¹ ii, 149 (iii, 8). Burton (iii, 6) says that Ishāq was "the first who reduced Arab harmony [sic] to systematic rules". See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 105.

of Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, and the famous basket episode.¹ The same story is related of his father Ibrāhīm in the *Aghānī*² and the *Maṭālī' al-budūr*,³ although Ishāq retains the credit in Ibn Badrūn.⁴ Another adventure, with Ishāq and a singing-girl as the principal characters, is told in the story of *Ishāq al-Mausūṭi and the Merchant*.⁵ Finally there is the story of *Ishāq al-Mausūṭi and his Mistress and the Devil*, which is another musical interlude with Iblis.⁶

Other famous musicians mentioned are 'Ubaidallāh ibn Suraij (d. c. 726) and Ma'bad ibn Wahb (d. 743), both being noticed as composers of songs.⁷ Two minstrels of lesser import also appear in the *Nights*, but only incidentally. They are Ṣadaqa ibn Ṣadaqa and Zurzūr al-Ṣaghīr. The former is named in the story of *Abū'l-Ḥasan of Khurasān* where Ṣadaqa is said to have been with Khalif Al-Mutawakkil and his *wazīr* Al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān when the former was murdered in 861.⁸ His name does not occur in the *Aghānī* or similar books, but he was probably a grandson of Abū Ṣadaqa Miskīn, a minstrel at the court of Hārūn, and brother of Aḥmad ibn Ṣadaqa who was a minstrel favoured by Al-Mutawakkil.⁹ Zurzūr al-Ṣaghīr is also not registered in the *Aghānī*, but since there is a Zurzūr al-Kabīr mentioned at the court of Khalif Al-Mu'taṣim (d. 843)¹⁰ there is some justification for accepting the historicity of Zurzūr Minor, who is only recognized in the *Nights* as the composer of a melody.¹¹

The female musicians in the *Nights*, with one exception, are not credited in history. Yet there is no reason why they should not be mentioned here, especially as they furnish a fair picture of the varied accomplishments of these *artistes* and what was expected of them in these days. Indeed, it enables one to appreciate how the epithet '*ālīma* (pl. '*awālīm*'), i.e. "learned female", came to be given to the singing-girl as in modern Egypt.¹² Here are the more outstanding of these female musicians of the *Nights*.

Nu'm (Blessing) was purchased as a babe with her mother in the slave market by a man of Al-Kūfa named Al-Rab'ā, who

¹ ii, 147 (iii, 6).

² v, 41.

³ Al- *Ghuzūlī*, i, 243.

⁴ Dozy edit., 272.

⁵ ii, 435 (iii, 238).

⁶ iii, 408 (iv, 341). Cf. *Ency. Islām*, ii, 439.

⁷ ii, 450 (iii, 252). Burton, in his usual forward way, writes Ma'abid.

⁸ iv, 573 (vi, 60). Burton wrongly identifies this *wazīr* with the one mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (ii, 455).

¹⁰ Farmer, *Hist.*, 96.

¹¹ ii, 453 (iii, 255).

⁹ Farmer, *Hist.*, 158.

¹² Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (London, 1860), 355.

reared her with his own son Ni'mat Allāh (Boon of Allāh). She was carefully educated, "read (*qarā'*) the *Qur'ān* and the sciences, knew all kinds of games (*lu'ab*) and devices (*ālāt*), and surpassed in singing (*maḡhnā*) and in instruments of music (*malāhī*)." Eventually she was espoused to Ni'mat Allāh. Yet her exquisite beauty and inimitable talents led Al-Ḥajjāj, the crafty Governor of 'Irāq 'Arabī, to secure her by guile for Khalif 'Abd al-Malik (d. 705). Fortunately for her husband there is a happy ending.¹

Al-Badr al-Kabīr (The Incomparable Full Moon) was another rearling, but, in this case, had been brought up in the palace of Ja'far the son of Khalif Mūsā al-Hādī (d. 786). She was "perfect in beauty" and there was not in her time anyone "more accomplished in the art of singing (*ghinā'*) and the playing of [instruments of] strings (*awtār* "). Being enamoured of her, Muḥammad al-Amīn (d. 813), who later became Khalif, abducted her under the very nose of Ja'far, who forgave his erring kinsman and sacrificed his beautiful *qaina*, accepting a boatload of gold, silver, and jewels as a solatium.²

Qūt al-Qulūb (Sustenance of Hearts), on the contrary, was acquired in the slave-market by a certain Ibn al-Qirnāṣ for five thousand gold pieces, although he sold her to Khalif Hārūn for twice that sum. She knew "all the arts and sciences, could string poetry, and play upon all kinds of instruments of music (*tarab*)".³

Anīs al-Jalīs (Companionable Companion) was a singing-girl who cost a notional King of Al-Baṣra ten thousand gold pieces. She was probably worth every penny of it since we are assured that she was acquainted with "calligraphy, syntax, and lexicography, exegesis [of the *Qur'ān*], principles of jurisprudence and religion, [canons of] medicine, [computation of] the calendar, and playing instruments of music (*ālāt al-muṭriba*) ". Above all, she was the possessor of "dewy lips sweeter than syrup".⁴

Tawaddud (Showing Affection), the last to be mentioned, outshone all others in her accomplishments, if we are to believe the *Nights*. She was the singing-girl of Abu'l-Ḥusn of Baghdād and her prodigious talents and marvellous erudition flabbergasted Khalif Hārūn. She claimed that she was versed in syntax, poetry, juris-

¹ ii, 38 (ii, 419).

² ii, 402 (iii, 208).

³ iv, 163 (v, 183).

⁴ ii, 489 (iii, 277).

prudence, exegesis [of the *Qur'ān*], lexicography, theory of music,¹ law of inheritance, arithmetic, division, geodesy, fables of the ancients, the Sublime *Qur'ān*, the Holy Traditions, arts of government,² geometry, philosophy, alchemy,³ logic, and rhetoric. She could also "play on the 'ūd (lute), and knew the construction of the melodic modes (*mawāḍi' al-naḡham*) on it, and the rhythms (*mawāqī'*) of the beatings of its strings, and their *caesura* (*sakanāt*)", as well as being proficient in singing and dancing.⁴

Maḥbūba (Beloved), the one historical character among the songstresses and singing-girls of the *Nights*, belonged to Al-Baṣra. According to this source she was gifted to Khalif Al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) by 'Uбайдاللّٰه [ibn 'Abdallāh] ibn Ṭāhir (d. c. 912), himself a first-rate musician.⁵ It is more probable that it was 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir (d. 844) who made the present, as the *Aghānī* states.⁶ In the *Nights* we are told that she was of "surpassing beauty and loveliness . . . played well upon the lute and was skilled in singing and making verses and wrote a beautiful hand",⁷ an appraisement which is confirmed by the *Aghānī*.⁸

¹ ii, 493 (iii, 281). The text has من الموسيقى which is obviously a slip for فن الموسيقى as in the Būlāq text (ii, 239).

² The text has علوم الرياضة which can scarcely be correct, since the 'ulūm al-riyāḍiyya, which included arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, are already dealt with. The Būlāq text has 'ulūm al-riyāsa, which is more likely.

³ 'ilm al-ḥikma.

⁴ ii, 493 (iii, 281).

⁵ Farmer, *Hist.*, 169.

⁶ xix, 132.

⁷ ii, 310 (iii, 135).

⁸ Farmer, *Hist.*, 162.

(To be continued)

Indian Influence in the Malay World¹

By SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT

(PLATES XIX AND XX)

IT might be thought that geography would have opened the Malay archipelago predominantly to the influence of China, but oddly enough the impact of her great civilization on the Malay world has been slight. As early as the seventh century A.D. Chinese monks sailed down to Sumatra to study the Buddhist canon, and eight centuries later the Sultans of Malacca and other Malay princes were still sending envoys to China as Malay rulers had done for hundreds of years. But China's difficult language and intricate ideographs, and her want of missionary zeal and of continuous overseas imperialism were barriers to other than trade relations. To the western half of the Malay archipelago India was nearer, and India got first into the field. With little exaggeration it has been said of Europe that it owes its theology, its literature, its science, and its art to Greece: with no greater exaggeration it may be said of the Malayan races that till the nineteenth century they owed everything to India: religions, a political system, medieval astrology and medicine, literature, arts and crafts.

The coming of Indians was neither sudden nor violent. An Indian ship or so would arrive with the monsoon to exchange magic amulets and beads, generally Indian, but sometimes Roman, for gold, tin, ivory, camphor, and those rare antidotes against poison, the rhinoceros-horn and the bezoar. Here and there an Indian newcomer would practise magic, that seemed potent in love or war or disease. Another would win respect as a fighter. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring, as Arabic was to be later, because unintelligible to the vulgar. For daily speech the sparse settlers had to use the local Malayan languages: they were too few to introduce Prakrit, the colloquial form of Sanskrit. The Malay borrowed a fair sprinkling of Indian words for such novelties as *cast-net*, *book*, *goose*, *lion*, *herald*, *bell*, *manggo*, *nutmeg*, and for such abstract ideas as *time*, *pleasure*, *punishment*, *loyalty*, *religion*, *fasting*, *property*, *race*,

¹ Being a lecture delivered after the Anniversary Meeting on 11th May.

intellect, sin, but most of these loan-words were the Sanskrit of ritual and law and court ceremony.

In time some of the visitors married into leading local families in Malaya, Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, injecting into tribal electorates, some patriarchal some matrilineal, the Hindu conception of the divinity of kings and inaugurating little courts that came to be centres of the art and crafts and learning of the day. More than a thousand years after the arrival of Indian colonists in Malaya, there were still Tamils, now Muslim, marrying into the families of the Sultans and Prime Ministers of fifteenth century Malacca. And the coming of the Hindu must have been very similar to the later arrival of the Muslim from India, the Brahmin or more generally the Kshatriya arrogating the place to be taken eventually by the Sayid. The Indian pioneers counted among their number priests like Gunavarman the Kashmiri prince, who perhaps visited Kedah in the Malay peninsula and certainly Java, where he made many converts to Hinayana Buddhism before he passed on to die in A.D. 431 at Nanking.

Sumatra and Malaya both furnished ports of nearest call to Indian ships, and perhaps the isthmus of Kra provided the earliest route to Annam, where the oldest Indian inscriptions, relics of the third century A.D., have been found. No inscriptions as old as these have cropped up in Malaya, although Roman beads from Johore may be relics of casual visits by Indian middlemen, at the beginning of the Christian era. Recently a small bronze Buddha in the Greek style of the Amaravati school was found in Kedah, but it has been allocated to the Gupta age and the fifth century A.D. (*Illustrated Weekly of India*, 16th November, 1941).

Earlier than that, in the fourth century Indian settlers had left Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah, Saiva inscriptions in the Cambodia and Champa of modern Indochina, rock inscriptions in Java, and Brahmin sacrificial posts in Borneo.⁸ These colonists were Pallavas from the Coromandel coast, who imported a mixture of the religion of Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu, and Buddhism, and introduced an alphabet from which in course of time the Kawi or Javanese script was developed. Sanskrit inscriptions in Kedah show that Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism flourished there side by side. Not far south of Kedah in the tin-fields of Perak have been found two Hinayana Buddhas of Gupta style that belong to the fifth or sixth century A.D. One of them is a beautiful figure sensitive in

line and feeling (*History of Malaya*, Winstedt, pl. v). The roof of a miniature bronze shrine unearthed by Dr. Quaritch Wales in Kedah bears a close resemblance to a Pallava temple at Mahābali-puram. But no Pallava bronze images have been found in Malaya, though the head of a seventh century figure in a conical cap from the tin-famous island of Bangka just south of Singapore has been thought to reveal the way Pallava influences, after modification in the Malay Peninsula, passed on to Sumatra and Java (Stutterheim, *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. xi, No. 2, 1937, pp. 105-110).

Kedah, it is commonly accepted, was once called Langkasuka, becoming eventually part of a great Buddhist empire, Sri Vijaya, which controlled both the Sunda and Malacca Straits, to this day the gates to the Far East. Chinese chronicles describe Lang-ya-sieu, Lang-ka-su, and Lang-ya-si, all now held to be variants of Langkasuka. They say it was founded about A.D. 100, boasted of walled towns and produced aloe-wood and camphor oil. Its people had long hair, went bare to the waist, and wore cotton skirts, while nobles affected thin flowered shawls, gold girdles, and gold earrings—a style of dress that Islam has banished from nearly all the Malay world, although not many decades ago Perak's Muslim Sultan was still waited upon like a Hindu god, by virgins bare to the waist. A later statuette of a woman, found at Tapanuli in Sumatra, will give an idea of the costume of Langkasuka (*BEFEO.*, xl, 1940, pl. vi).

Langkasuka outlasted the period of Pallava or south Indian influence, which by the eighth century was giving way before the Mahayana culture of the Pala kingdom of Bengal, a culture that had already affected southern India. This Bengali culture brought a new script, the Nagari, and it revived the use of Sanskrit in place of the mixture of Old Malay and Sanskrit found in the Pallava inscriptions from Sumatra. It also brought a new type of sculpture.

An eighth century example of Pala Mahayana bronze-work is a many-armed Avalokitesvara from Bidor in Perak, "faultily faultless, splendidly null" in its absence of individuality and feeling (*ibid.*, pl. v). But a ninth century Boddhisatva found at Jaiya in Siamese Malaya is magnificent (*Ars Asiatica*, xii, pls. xv-xvi).

All the Pala images of Malaya appear to be purely Indian in type with no trace of Sumatran or Javanese characteristics, a fact that has been adduced as evidence that Malaya was India's stepping-stone to the Archipelago and had the earliest Indian settlements.

But the Pala period in Malay history saw the rise of a Malay Buddhist empire, Sri Vijaya, whose resurrection by M. Coedès is one of the romances of Oriental research. Whether its capital was originally at Palembang in Sumatra or in northern Malaya, where before the end it had colonies, is a rather academic problem to-day. What is of more vivid interest is that an ancestor of one of the Sailendra Maharajas who came in the ninth century to rule Sri Vijaya conquered central Java and was responsible for the erection of its most noble Buddhist shrines, Chandi Kalasan (A.D. 778), Chandi Mendut and the world-famous Borobudur.

In Javanese carving of the Sailendra period the inspiration of the Indian art that created the Boddhisatva of Jaiya touched an Indonesian sensuousness into life in stone and bronze that at times is almost naive in feeling but generally too passionately alive to be sicklied over by the pale cast of religious symbolism. The result is that many pieces of this Javanese sculpture are as supreme in the world of art as Shakespeare is in the world of poetry. Neither India nor China nor Europe has seen greater sculpture (*JRAS.*, 1942, pls. vii-xi).

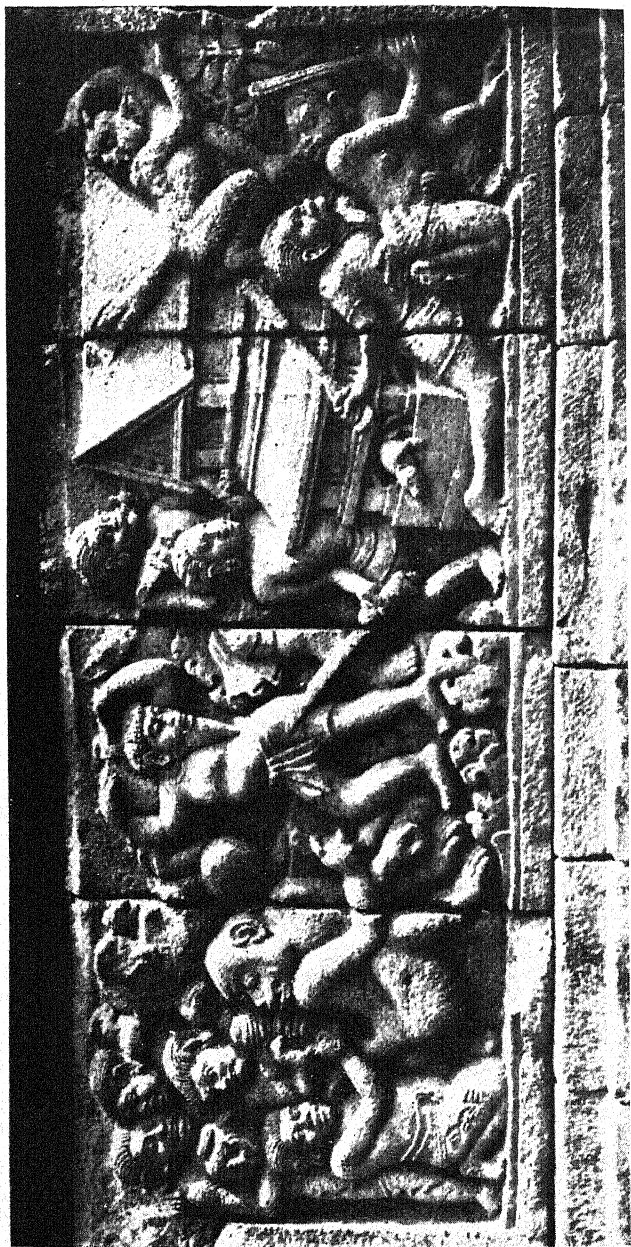
As well as art, war also came to the Malay world from India. And in the relic chamber of a Kedah temple, cased in a watch-shaped *chunam* box of a pattern still common in Malay and Indian art, Dr. Quaritch Wales unearthed miniature models of weapons, sword, bow, dagger and shield. The sword and shield are of types found not only in the bas-reliefs of Boro-Budur but in the Ajanta frescoes. And the broad spatulate dagger was of the shape of the most sacred weapon in the regalia of Sumatra's last Hindu kingdom, Minangkabau. It is associated in Javanese sculpture with Shiva in his demon form of Bhairava. Adatiavarman, a medieval ruler of Minangkabau (1340-1375) belonged to a Bhairava sect that professed a Tantric doctrine connecting Buddhism with Shivaism, and the inlaid figures on this butcher's dagger in the Minangkabau regalia may be those of him and his consort (*Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1930, Batavia). Probably it was this evidence that led Dr. Quaritch Wales to suggest that the Kedah temple was dedicated to a Tantric form of Boddhisatva. He assigns it tentatively to the ninth or tenth century A.D.

Early in the eleventh century Sri Vijaya and its colonies in Malaya were attacked by a Chola king from the Coromandel coast. It was the first of several devastating Chola raids, due probably

to that Tamil commerce which has coloured Sanskrit loan-words in Malay, which was never absent from Malaya down to the Japanese invasion, which transferred to Singapore the name of the capital of the old Tamil kingdom of Kalinga and which conducted most of the trade of medieval Malacca. It was, however, not from these raids that the final blow came to Buddhist Sri Vijaya, but between A.D. 1338 and 1365 from a Javanese kingdom, Hindu Majapahit. Although Majapahit was Hindu, a loss of contact with Indian craftsmen or a waning of inspiration from abroad and an insular nationalism had then turned Javanese sculpture into a folk craft, whose traces are clear even in the famous tenth century Prambanan reliefs, of which I illustrate the rape of Sita (Pl. XIX), and the firing of Langka by Hanuman (Pl. XX). On the former Dora Gordine has commented that Indian inspiration has nearly vanished, lingering only in the vibrant rhythms of the figures of Ravana and Sita. "Even these two figures lack the graceful proportions that mark the best Indian sculpture. All the figures are short and stumpy, the sculptor's vision being affected no doubt by the small stature of the Indonesian. The two negroid maids are squat and top-heavy. The house, though small, is not in perspective and looks like a doll's house, just behind the maids in the foreground. Even the lizards on the roof are haphazard accretions and form no integral part of a design. So far from being emphasized, Ravana and Sita occupy only half the panel and one that looks smaller than the half occupied by maids and house. The bas-relief is an example of Javanese folk-art saved from utter futility by some remembrance of Indian models." The passing of such folk art need evoke no great regret.

For the knell of art and of the old order was to be finally sounded in the Malay world by traders from Gujerat, who, before Marco Polo visited Sumatra in 1292, had converted small ports on its north coast to Islam. From Pasai, one of those ports, the famous port of Malacca, which became a Malay kingdom soon after 1400, took the epoch-making step of importing along with its rice the religion of Muhammad. A Chinese chronicler of A.D. 1436 alludes to the practice of Tantric rites in Pahang, and the blood-stained sacrifices at which initiates drank from skulls at midnight orgies may well have shocked Malay minds and inclined them to the kinder mysticism of Islam. Anyhow like the older Indian religions, Islam soon spread from Malacca to Sumatra and Java and nearly every





part of the Malay archipelago. Like their early Indian teachers, Malay Muslims, although orthodox Sunnis of the Shafe'ite school, formerly worshipped saints both living and dead, split themselves into sects and accepted a pantheism that was not as in Arabia the speculation of the few, but as in India the faith of the mosque and the market-place. The worship of saints countenanced the continuance of time-hallowed offerings at the graves of ancestor, ruler, and teacher. And the gods of the Hindu pantheon became genies, infidel it is true but for a long while not banished from invocations for the sick or from charms for the lover and the warrior. The guardian genies of the State of Perak used to include Brahma, Visnu, and Indra along with the Prophet Solomon and 'Ali the Prophet's son-in-law.

The Muhammadan missionary found Malays and Javanese revelling in the shadow-play with its repertories from those great Hindu epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, as people to-day revel in the cinema. As early as A.D. 1000 the Javanese had translated the two epics and probably there were old Malay translations, too, but except for a few Sumatran inscriptions dating from the seventh to the tenth century there has survived no Malay written in the older Indian scripts. The earliest known Malay versions appear to have been done in fifteenth century Malacca. Evidence for this late date is the use of many Arabic and Persian loan-words in the texts.

To replace these relics of the Hindu period the early Muslim missionaries from India wrote down in Perso-Arabic script the story of Alexander the Great as a champion of the faith of Abraham and a precursor of Muhammad. From Alexander's marriage with a daughter of Kaid the Indian ruler they even found a pedigree for Malay royalty. Where Muslim prejudice was powerless to ban the shadow-play, they threw on the screen the marvellous adventures of Amir Hamza, another mythical hero of Islam. From Persian then the literary language and *lingua franca* of India, were now translated many tales of the Prophet and his Companions, often infected by Shi'a heresies. Among them are the stories about the splitting of the moon at the Prophet's command and of the shaving of the Prophet and of his testament. There is a short version from the Persian of the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife Zulaikha and a long one of the story of Muhammad Hanafiah. And there are early Malay versions of famous cycles of tales from Persian originals,

such as the *Tutinameh* or *Tales of a Parrot*, the *Kalila wa-Damna* and the *Bakhtiar-Nameh*. Along with this Persian literature imported from India, a few Persian loan-words were introduced into Malay, words for *palace*, *trumpet*, *court of justice*, *soldier*, *champion*, *clock*, *grave-stone*, *feast*, *marry*, and so on. The oldest *Jawi* or Malay written in the Perso-Arabic script, which the Malays permanently adopted with Islam, is actually to be read on a fourteenth century stone from Trengganu, set up by a Sri Paduka Tuan to record the Islamic penalties for "sexual and other offences to be enforced by a Muslim Raja Mandulika.

Magic was the science of our ancestors, and for science as well as literature the Malay world was indebted to India, as India must have been indebted to older civilizations. In the *Atharva-Veda* is an incantation to arouse the passionate love of a woman, that is the archetype of many similar Malay incantations. Indeed Malay charms bear all the characteristic marks of the Indian *mantra*. They must be kept secret. They are in rude rhythmical form. Many are a blend of prayer and spell. Numerous spirits are generally invoked so that the particular spirit whose help is wanted or whose malevolence is to be baulked shall not escape mention. And there is a strange jumble of faiths. Take, for example, a charm against a thunderstorm :—

Om ! Virgin goddess, Mahadevi ! Om !
 Cub am I of mighty tiger !
 'Ali's line through me descends !
 My voice is the rumble of thunder,
 Whose bolts strike a path for my seeing.
 Forked lightning's the flash of my weapons !
 I move not till earth quakes,
 Firm set as earth's axis.
 By virtue of my charm got from 'Ali,
 And of Islam's confession of faith.

A Malay treatise on astrology quotes Albumasar and Ja'far al-Sadik as authorities, but yet gives five divisions of a five-day cycle, presided over by Shiva the Supreme Lord, Shiva the destroyer, Sri, Brahma, and Vishnu. Less heterodox is a Malay translation of a treatise popular with Indian Sunnis, the *Mujarrabat-i-Dirbi* or "Prescriptions" which cites among its sources al-Buni the celebrated Arabian writer on the Cabbala, divination, magic squares, and the virtues of the Basmala.

Religion and literature and science were before our democratic days the privilege of the few. How did the spiritual gifts which India transported overseas along with her material produce affect those many Malays who were condemned by providence to take higher learning on trust? One may start with court circles, because everywhere a court is a centre of conservative usage, where precedent may be overlaid with accretions but is seldom discarded. For example, Java's Hindu rulers were carved after death as avatars of gods, and still at his installation, though he knows not why, a Malay Sultan is expected to sit motionless, image-like immobility being, as Siam still remembers, a sign of commencing divinity in a king. In Negri Sembilan the herald who proclaims the election of a new ruler is required to stand on one leg with the sole of his right foot resting on his left knee. He is quite unaware that so Brahman sun-worshippers stand on one foot with the other resting on the ankle, and that Siam's temporary April king had, in accordance with Brahmin ritual, to stand for hours at a stretch with right foot against left knee in order to gain victory over spirits inimical to agriculture. Still on the accession of a Perak Sultan his chief herald Sri Nara 'diraja reads what to him and his master is a quite unintelligible *chiri* or Sanskrit coronation formula, such as hallowed his Hindu ancestors, the first ruler of Malacca: "fortunate great king, smiter of rivals, valorous, whose crown jewels ravish the three worlds, whose touch dispels suffering, protector, pilot over the ocean of battle, confuter of opponents, fortunate supreme overlord Raja Parameswara."¹ And as at the initiation

¹ The Sultans of Perak are descended from the Raja Parameswara who founded Malacca c. 1400. That title probably implied that its founder was married to a princess above him in rank (Dr. van Stein Callenfels, *Oudheidkundige Verslag*, Batavia, 1923, pp. 165-6). According to d'Albuquerque he was from Palembang, the consort of a Javanese princess, and the myths set down in the 'Malay Annals' would derive the Malacca house from Palembang. Callenfels prefers the view that Raja Parameswara was a Javanese nobleman (*JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, 1937, vol. xv, pt. ii, "The Founder of Malacca," pp. 160-6). In that case it is possible that the Malacca house claimed connection with Palembang through the marriage of the Raja Parameswara with a Muslim princess of the Pasai family that ruled Sri Vijaya's old colony, Kedah, and perhaps Trengganu, and may therefore have claimed relationship with the Sailendra rulers of Sri Vijaya. The son of the marriage assumed the old Sri Vijaya title of Sri Maharaja and introduced some ancient system of court ceremonial. (Did Pasai rule Kedah in the fourteenth century? R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, 1940, vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 150). The crest of the Sailendra house was two carps (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, Dr. N. J. Krom, Hague, 1931). On a Perak royal trumpet and a Perak royal

of a child into one of the higher Hindu castes his teacher whispers the name of the god who is to be the child's special protector through life, so into the ear of the new Perak ruler this court herald, descendant of a mythical Batala, whispers as custom ordains, the State secret, namely the Hindu name of the demigod who descended in a Sumatran rice-clearing to become the ancestor and guardian of Perak royalty. Down the centuries, the descendant of a herald born from the vomit of Shiva's bull Nandi has always been herald to the Perak descendant of the divine prince who rode on Nandi's back into that Palembang rice-clearing. Malay royalty is, of course, still credited with the white blood its ancestors ascribed to Shiva, Buddhists to divinities, and Muslim mystics to saints. Even the titles of a Malay ruler mark the evolution of the beliefs he received from India. Before the personal name will come the old Sanskrit honorifics *duli*, *maha mulia*, *paduka*, *sri* sandwiched along with the later Muslim titles *maulana*, *sultan*, *shah*. And the titles of his chiefs are at once Sanskrit, Arabic, and Malay.

Of the syncretism of his beliefs and customs the Malay was almost totally unaware until school histories prepared under Dutch and British supervision recently enlightened him. "I am descended from Alexander the Great," a raja of the old school once said to me: "I suppose he lived at least a hundred years ago," and the grey-haired prince had no idea that when he sent his creese to represent him at his wedding with a commoner, she was being married to him as a Hindu girl is married to a raja or a god.

Not that Hindu usage is confined to Malay palaces. Like the Brahmin the Malay peasant never refers to his wife by name but as the person in the house or the mother of so-and-so; like the Brahmin he may not have his hair cut when his wife is soon to have a child, and after the birth the mother is roasted, as she was in Hindu ritual with invocations to Agni. After the burial of the after-birth under a coconut palm a Perak infant used to be greeted by Om, that word of power, that could stop all the hens in the neighbourhood from laying. And the Malay child, like the Brahmin

necklace figure a *naga* and a fish ("History of Perak," R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, 1934, vol. xii, pt. i, pls. iii and xiii), but so far this symbol is unexplained. According to the Perak State secret the first ruler of Palembang bore the obviously corrupt title of Bichitram Shah, for which there must be some Sanskrit foundation. Pasai folk-lore made the founder of Pasai a Merah Silu (? = Sinhalese *Mahasilu* = Pali *Mahachuli*, *Chula*).

child, is ceremonially introduced to Mother Earth and Father Water. Still, in addition to the registration of a Muslim marriage before the Kathi, Hindu ceremonial for this great occasion in Malay life has been retained. In the bridal rice shared by the newly-married pair, in the bridal thread passed round them in some parts after the universal lustration and in the bathing pavilion erected for this rite we have not only Indian customs but actual Indian names. For the Malay as for the Hindu bride the height of lady-like conduct is a demonstration of excessive modesty. And though he is ignorant of his indebtedness, a Malay parent follows the code of Manu in regarding physicians, usurers, sailors, dancers, the one-eyed and the hairy as suitors to be rejected.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a Malay ceremony came from India before or after the conversion to Islam. In a ritual derived seemingly from ancient Egypt a Brahmin touches the tongue of a child thrice after birth with honey and ghi, reciting a verse from the Rig-Veda wishing long life and happiness. Muslims of India, Arabia, and Malaya observe the same ceremony, substituting a verse of the Kuran for that from the Rig-Veda.

Though he is unconscious of it, from the cradle to the grave the Malay is surrounded by survivals of Indian culture. Even his nursery tales are many of them derived from Bidpai's Fables, the Jataka tales and Somadeva's *Ocean of Story*. India found the Malay a peasant of the late stone age, a "frog under a coconut shell", and it left him a citizen of the world. It taught him the weaving of silk and embroidery and metal work, and it gave him its clothes and material comforts. It taught him to tame the elephant and improved his methods of fishing. The customary law of the tribe it broadened into the law of the State. It introduced the Malay to Hindu and Persian classics and induced in an illiterate people a passion for knowledge. It gave him the science of the middle ages, and, converted to Islam, it gave him the ideal of democracy. But now that steamships have brought the Malay world into close relations with Arabia and Egypt, England and Holland, all these things are to its inhabitants no more than a tale that is told by Indian and European scholars.

NOTE

For those who want more than this popular account the following bibliographies will be useful; bibliography to chapters ii and iii,

A History of Malaya, R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, vol. xiii, pt. 1, 1935, ditto to *A History of Malay Literature*, R. O. Winstedt, *ibid.*, vol. xviii, 1940; ditto to Sri Vijaya, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *BEFEO.*, xl, 1940, fasc. 2 (1941, with illustrations and a note on the art of Sri Vijaya; and the following should also be consulted: "Archæological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya," H. G. Quaritch Wales, *JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, vol. xviii, pt. 1, 1940. *A Pictorial History of Civilization in Java*, W. F. Stutterheim, Weltevreden, Java; *Het Ramayana op Javaansche Tempel Reliefs*, J. Kats, Leiden, and *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, London, 1927, provide an introduction to the art, and there is a summary of *Buddhist Images from Malay and Sumatra*, by R. O. Winstedt, in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. xvi, 1942, pp. 41-2. Indispensable is *Hindoe-Javaansche Gescheidenis*, Dr. N. J. Krom, Hague, 1931, of which an English translation by H. B. Sarkar is being prepared for the Greater India Society. That Society has published several relevant books. *Shaman, Saiva and Sufi*, R. O. Winstedt, London, 1925, deals with the evolution of Malay beliefs.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

İSLAM ANSİKLOPEDİSİ. İstanbul, 1941.

For Orientalists concerned with the history of the Islamic world the *Encyclopedia of Islam* is the most indispensable of reference books. But all Turkish historians the subject of whose researches is the past of their own country and people are *ipso facto* Orientalists; and they, it seems, have found the *Encyclopedia* scarcely less useful than their Western colleagues, since no quite comparable Turkish publication exists. A knowledge of French, English, or German is almost universal among the learned in Turkey. Nevertheless for such historians, and even more for university students of history, it has been an inconvenience that the *Encyclopedia of Islam* should have been published only in those languages. Hence in 1939 the Ministry of Education confided the preparation of a Turkish edition to the Faculty of Letters in the University of İstanbul; and now the first seventeen parts of that edition—in which articles down to the beginning of one on the Barmecides (*Bermekiler*) are included—have come to hand.

The translation, carefully supervised by an editorial committee, is impeccable. Every article has been translated from the language in which it was originally composed. But much more than mere translation has been accomplished. For the original *Encyclopedia*, with all its virtues, is far from perfect. It suffers from gaps, from a lack of proportion between the space devoted to certain items and their relative importance, and from the inadequate treatment of certain subjects. So much time has passed, again, since the earliest parts were published (in 1908) that some of the information they contain has been rendered out of date by subsequent events and researches. From the point of view of the Turkish historian in particular the original *Encyclopedia* is defective, largely because in the last quarter of a century historical research in Turkey has entered on a phase of unprecedented vigour and exactitude, with the result that many discoveries have been made. Fortunately for all Orientalists, therefore, the editorial committee decided to have those articles which manifestly needed revision or amplification rewritten or added to by the Turkish specialists best

qualified for the purpose. Moreover, in their excellent and delightful introduction the editors promise us a supplement in which those subjects neglected in the original shall be treated.

The promise of the parts that we already possess is such as to make us impatient for the supplement. A great many of the articles—nearly all those dealing with Turkish personalities, dynasties, and places, besides a certain number of others—have been rewritten. Some thirty Turkish writers have so far contributed, among whom it may not be invidious to name M. H. Yinanç, M. C. Baysun, A. Z. V. Togan, B. Darkot, I. H. Uzunçarşılı, and above all M. F. Köprülü, whose contributions to the original *Encyclopedia* were so outstanding.

It is largely owing to the initiative of Professor Köprülü that the new Turkish movement in historical research was launched and has yielded such remarkable results. In this instance his labours and those of his colleagues will without doubt transform the original *Encyclopedia* into a still more valuable work—with the amusing consequence that, sooner or later, some at least of the new articles and the amendments of the Turkish edition will have to be translated into the languages of the West.

H. BOWEN.

SAADIA ANNIVERSARY VOLUME. (American Academy for Jewish Research; Texts and Studies, Vol. 2.) pp. 346. New York, 1943.

The title of the first article in this volume, Saadia's Communal Activities, is warranted to put off the casual reader; the essay is a readable account of the life of the Gaon. It does its best to fit him into the background of his age. To give two examples: when the school at Sura was in a bad way a blind man refused the headship of school; as the Muslim law prevailing in Irak did not permit a blind man to be judge, it is a fair assumption that the blind Jew was helped to his decision by the desire to remove from the Muslims an occasion for scoffing. It is suggested that one of the reasons why Saadia never went back to Egypt was that he had left the country without a passport. The article on mathematics contains much curious information. In multiplication Saadia followed the primitive method of the ancient Egyptians, he could calculate permutations and combinations though his vocabulary did not distinguish

clearly between them, for him $\pi = 3$, and he knew of amicable numbers. As in Islam the laws of inheritance helped the development of mathematics. The article on the Samaritans argues that it is wrong to ask who first translated the Law into Arabic; this version grew up as did the Targum and, when at last it was written, the writing was done under the influence of Saadia's version. This contradicts the view put forward in the Manchester volume of Saadia Studies. As a theologian the Gaon was largely dependent on Islam; so his arguments for the creation of the world are part of a series which appear in various forms from Aristotle to Aquinas. Arguments, which Aristotle thought compatible with the eternity of the world, were used by Muslim theologians to prove that it was created. Saadia avoids the atomic theory of the Muslims and the argument that everything compound is created becomes in his hands an argument from design. It is a pleasure to find a book which is strongly bound and well printed on good paper.

A. S. TRITTON.

Middle East

TURĀTH AL-ʿARAB AL-ʿILMĪ (THE SCIENTIFIC LEGACY OF THE ARABS). By QADARĪ ḤĀFĪZ TŪKĀN. pp. iv + 267. Cairo, 1941.

The sub-title shows that the subject matter is confined to mathematics and astronomy. The introductory chapters summarize the achievements of the Muslims in these fields while later chapters treat of individual scientists and the work for which they are famous. As many of them are only names, whole pages read like a catalogue. The author knows the literature of his subject, and has used it. The names Cantor and Suter are missing from the bibliography though Suter occurs frequently in the text. There are too many misprints; the two and a half pages of corrections do not exhaust all the errors. A glossary of mathematical terms would be a useful addition. The chapter, mathematics in poetry, comes as a surprise. Zarqā, the far-sighted, is credited with the first problem poem in arithmetic and an-Nābigha imitated her. One man, with nothing better to do, wrote an algebra in verse. Mathematicians also wrote verse; one sample is enough.

My heart is divided in love of a group; my desire hangs on every one of them;

As though my heart were the centre, they the circumference, and my desires radii.

The author says that he has spent more than ten years on this book ; the time has not been wasted.

A. S. TRITTON.

PARTS OF BARBARY. By ALAN HOUGHTON BRODRICK. pp. 255, with 75 illustrations, 9 × 6½. Hutchinson and Co., Ltd.

Few books in English have been available to those interested in North Africa. Though, as Mr. Brodrick says, "Well over ten thousand publications, dealing with North-West Africa, were listed in the *Bibliographies of the Barbary States*," all but a few are in languages other than English, and apart from medieval authorities such as Leo Africanus and numerous works in Arabic, they are mainly in French. Mr. Brodrick has devoted many years to travel and to a close study of these authorities from the era of the conquest of Africa by 'Okba onwards. The changing fortunes and history of the Barbary States are sketched individually and with the local colour of present day conditions more or less in the form of a journey by air from the Persian Gulf to Tangier, with calls at these various parts of Barbary en route, after glimpses of Alexandria, Libya, Benghazi, and Tripoli. Most of the book is devoted to Tunis on the one hand and the extreme Maghrib (Morocco) on the other, and comparisons between the two ; while the hinterland of Roman Africa is surveyed in detail, with its historical and other associations and its more modern experiences and developments.

The history and interesting points about the various places and localities are collected on a geographical basis as in a guide book ; and apt quotations are made from the works of Leo Africanus, Thomas Shaw, and other authorities. But the book is a good deal more than a guide and breathes the spirit of the Moslem world and of North Africa. Many facts not generally observed or realized are noted, as, for instance, that "The European Civil War (Spain) began on 17th July, 1936, in the Rif".

In Chapter VII there are some penetrating remarks on colonies, particularly the French North African colonies. After remarking that "We hear a good deal nowadays and from many quarters about the changed status that colonies must, after the war, enjoy—

trusteeship as opposed to ownership—international commissions, etc., etc.”, the author adds “a very long time ago Polybius stated that superstition is the basis and foundation of empire”, and “if by superstition we mean what French sociologists call ‘une représentative collective’, viz. an emotional preoccupation upon which nearly all act, but concerning which, few reason, the aphorism contains much truth”.

The word colony, the author points out, in the historical sense means a territory entirely peopled and cultivated by emigrants from a mother country, but most areas now termed colonies are inhabited, in the main, by aliens to the French (or English) in manners, laws, customs, and ethnical origin.

In North Africa the Berber populations and their land present an area suitable for European immigration or colonization in the former sense and on a large scale. On the other hand in respect of most so-called African colonies, the late Marshal Lyautey's dictum is quoted with approval:—

Il ne faut pas que les hommes s'ennuyent.

“Too often what the European offers to subject peoples is a collection of disconnected codes—a religion that is not a philosophy of living, a system of law that is divorced from religion, an economic ethic that is opposed to it, and a host of new taboos far less exciting and picturesque than the old ones. . . . A weekly pay envelope may come to be a necessity, but it will never be so exciting as a lottery ticket that may land you the Big Prize. Above all is this true in Moslem lands, where our economic view of life and its ends does not prevail.”

This from another angle is the truism a recent American author writing on Northern Nigeria expressed when he wrote that “the philosophy which underlies this system is that every type of (Colonial) Government, if it is to be permanent or progressive, must have its roots planted firmly in the soil of indigenous society”.

Quite recently another academic authority, Professor W. M. Macmillan, writing on the subject of the better presentation of the Empire to the people of Britain, remarked that “we must first learn to know each of the peoples who make up the Empire as having a distinct entity of its own”. *Parts of Barbary* certainly drives home this principle with a wealth of diverse illustration.

H. R. PALMER.

Far East

THE VOYAGE OF SIR HENRY MIDDLETON TO THE MOLUCCAS, 1604-1606. A new and enlarged edition with an introduction and notes by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series, No. LXXXVIII. pp. 209, maps 3, illustrations 1. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. London, 1943.

This handsome volume, exhibiting in paper and binding none of the privations of the time, contains *The Last East Indian Voyage*, printed by the Society as long ago as 1855, but then with a modernized text; *The Narrative of Thomas Clayborne* from Purchas; *His Nautical Observations*; a *Fragment of a Journal Kept in the Ascension* by ? William Taverner, and most important of all, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties . . . of the East Indians*, by Edmund Scott, now first reproduced in full since its appearance in 1606. Scott's narrative as here published is one-third longer than the version given by Purchas, who apparently drew his material not from the printed pamphlet but from some MS.

This *Discourse* gives a vivid account of a little band of Englishmen at Bantam by a man who in spite of inflicting the frightful tortures of the period (pp. 121-2) could yet record that the English in Java were greatly respected for their general behaviour "never offering any the leaste wrong to the meanest in the towne, and receiving from the better sorte a commendation before the Hollanders or any other nation" (p. 144). Such self-praise was not uncommon, so that one wonders how much foundation there was for this comfortable attitude. The higher prices proffered by English traders unable to enforce any monopoly undoubtedly enhanced their popularity. And as for Scott he was (p. 109) prepared to pay to spare a Pegu-born Christian from torture by the Dutch, and gave the executioner 5 rials to dispatch the man quickly (p. 110). Scott indeed declares that executions caused him "great trouble, griefe, and sorrow".

Sir William Foster has provided an introduction as readable as it is learned. Among other interesting points it shows how cautious English merchants were at the start about investing money in the new Eastern trade and how little direct assistance they received from the Government. For the first of Lancaster's voyages over £68,000 or about three-quarters of a million of our money to-day, were collected. The members hesitated to subscribe for a second voyage till they knew that the directors would not "for

private ends" buy unsuitable vessels and that Lancaster's ships had returned safely from the first venture. Thereupon the Privy Council notified Her Majesty's "mislike of their slackness" and propounded to them the example of the Dutch "who do prosecute their viages with a more honorable resolution". No doubt the London merchants endured this aspersion on their honour as steadfastly as their descendants endure E.P.T. All's well that ends well, and the gorgeous East showered on them as a result of the first two voyages a profit of 95 per cent.

The refraction of the Malay language led me to suggest to Sir William Foster that *Cay* represents *Kaya*, but it is more probable that it stands *passim* for the Javanese *Kiai*.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

CHINA FIGHTS IN BRITAIN. By BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES.
pp. 68. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 9d.

In the past it was the files of contemporary newspapers and journals that furnished mountainous provender for period historians. Historians of the present war will have in addition a vast stack of brochures like these well-named "Hurricane Books", purporting to be "concise, topical, and informed commentaries on events of our time". This pamphlet contains chapters on Chinese seamen, students, officials, and writers, in number about 12,000, who have made their war-time homes in Britain. In addition there is a chapter on relief funds started in aid of the Chinese and another on Chinese restaurants and their proprietors. There will be later appraisals of the work of the Chinese officials and writers, when time has lent the necessary perspective. The panegyric on the Holt family, if interesting, is rather irrelevant. But these 68 pages contain a readable and useful record of the Chinese now in Britain. Will the writer's Chinese friends like the phrase "John Chinaman to-day" (p. 18)?

R. O. WINSTEDT.

NUSANTARA, A HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO. By
BERNARD H. M. VLEKKE. 9 x 6, pp. xv + 439, 9 maps and
13 pls. Harvard University Press. \$5.00.

It is typical of the contents of this compilation that among its trite illustrations there is no picture of any Indonesian, Javanese

or Malay, Dayak or Bugis. For in spite of the first hundred pages, the author's theme is foreign influences on what to the confusion of bibliographers he elects freakishly to call Nusantara, and especially his theme is Dutch influence. And, indeed, to lose sight of Holland in a more detailed exposition of the many languages, varied cultural stages and physical and religious differences of the peoples of Netherlands India would have made it difficult to reach the topical conclusion that these millions form the potential constituents of "a great and united nation" (p. 9). The difference between a Dayak or a Papuan and Professor Dr. Jayadiningrat is practically that between neolithic man and the President of Harvard, and if ever they break away from under the ægis of the House of Orange there is no more prospect of the races of Nusantara becoming a united nation than there is of the races of Western Europe sinking their prejudices to a similar end.

Not merely does the author gloze over the likelihood of his hypostatized Indonesian being recalcitrant to the political ideas of a few Javanese and Sumatran intellectuals, but he gives no appraisal of Indonesian, or as one should more honestly say, of Javanese art and music, or of Javanese and Malay literature. Perhaps this was advisable, as the author can discern no decline from Javanese sculpture done in the great Hindu period, sculpture comparable in the field of art to Shakespeare in the field of poetry, and the later puerile folk carvings of East Java (p. 44). But the result is that *Nusantara* is *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark and all the other characters omitted except Fortinbras.

Cut off its last chapter on the coming of the war to Netherlands India, and the book is a compilation with no trace of original research; much of its information is approximately, but not quite, the latest word, and old difficulties are glozed over in the old way. The volume is too cursory for the specialist, and too detailed for others, though it has a novelty value for English-speaking readers.

The writer is ill at ease with prehistory, accepting for example the Sarasins' Vedda people, but omitting or vaguely hinting at an earlier negrito strain. There is no suggestion that he is aware of more than one type of menhīr. And there is no reference to recent criticisms of Schmidt's grouping of Austronesian languages, at least so far as a Melanesian sub-group is concerned.

Kling is the Indonesian not for the people of India (p. 19) but for the Dravidian peoples of the Deccan. It was not the hill-folk

of Sumatra (p. 47) who concocted a descent from Alexander the Great for their rulers but Indian missionaries of Islam anxious to obliterate Hindu prestige. And though it is in accord with the prejudice of some Dutch administrators, it is purely arbitrary to admit only three authentic kings in the old Malay world, disregarding both the Sultans of Minangkabau and the Sultans of Malacca. The appointment of four ministers over Majapahit on the death of Gajah Mada, so far from being an innovation (p. 62) was a return to an older Indonesian system. But oddly enough as Java has been the centre of Dutch administration for centuries, Dutch anthropologists and sociologists have paid less attention to its people than to those in the Outer Possessions.

Compilers are frequently guilty of disproportion as well as inaccuracy. And the account of Malacca in Malay and Portuguese times is perfunctory, while a reference is given not to the work of British scholars, but to the wildest of Dutch theorists, G. P. Rouffaer. What is the evidence that the Javanese merchants more than Indian Muslim merchants influenced Malacca's half-Tamil ruler to resist Portugal (p. 73)? Defeated by d'Albuquerque, the last Sultan of Malacca established his depleted court not at "a place which became the town of Johore" (p. 79), but first in the jungle on a tributary of the Johore river, then at Bintan, and finally at Kampar in Sumatra, where he died.

English readers will be especially interested in the author's acidulous estimate of Raffles, which though critical is nearer the facts than the usual British eulogy. No attempt, however, is made to investigate the truth of Gillespie's allegations against Raffles' land transactions (p. 251), and the account of the acquisition of Singapore is slight and unilluminating, the writer having consulted neither the evidence recorded by Netscher in his brochure on the Dutch in Johore nor the more concise conclusions on that evidence in my own *History of Malaya*.

Islamitic is a new and dreadful word, and there is a regrettable mixture of Dutch and English spellings of place-names.

India

THE ŚILAPPADIKĀRAM OR THE LAY OF THE ANKLET. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. pp. xiv, 392. Oxford University Press, 1939.

Mr. Dikshitar, who has already performed valuable service to students of early Tamil literature in publishing his *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (cf. *JRAS.*, 1940, pp. 125 ff.), continues the good work in the most useful form he could have chosen, namely, an English translation of the early Tamil classic *Śilapp'adhi-kāram*. The importance of this early literature in Tamil for the study of Indian history and culture is now generally recognized, but difficulties of language and interpretation have resulted, so far, in rendering it almost inaccessible to all except a very small body of students. It is to be hoped therefore that Mr. Dikshitar's example will be followed by others, until the whole of this vast store is laid open to the wider public by whom it deserves to be known.

The peculiar style of this early poetry, with its habit of running into immense sentences, together with other difficulties, particularly in the technical parts dealing with dancing and music, renders the task of translation by no means an easy one. But the translator has performed his task with success, and his work can be accepted as a reliable guide to a difficult and in some places obscure original.

In his introduction (pp. 1-74) Mr. Dikshitar deals at some length with the historical background of the poem, its authorship and date. This he places in the second century A.D., that is to say contemporary with the events which it purports to describe. This dating is open to objection on linguistic grounds, grounds which Mr. Dikshitar does not seriously discuss. He treats the linguistic question only in an appendix where, comparing the percentage of Sanskrit words in a canto of the epic with that found in a section of the *Tiruvāy-mōri*, he finds the percentage much greater in the latter and concludes, rightly, that this indicates the priority by a considerable period of the *Śilapp'adhi-kāram*. On the same lines it can be shown that the number of Sanskrit words is greater in the epic than in the early anthologies, *Aganāṇūru*, *Narṇinai*, etc., and the same argumentation would lead to the conclusion that these works are earlier than the epic. In other respects, too, it is possible to collect features of the language of the epic which point to a later stage of linguistic development than that found in the earliest collections of the *Eṭṭu-togai*. Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyar has already

drawn attention to this (*QJMS.*, xxviii (1938), p. 203), and the evidence is quite clear and unambiguous. From this it follows that if the historical background of the epic is fixed in the second century A.D., and if the earliest poetic collections are contemporary with this—both of which appear to be adequately established facts—then the composition of the *Śilapp'adhikāram* must be considerably later than the period in which it is set, since its language is later than that of works composed in that period. The ascription of the work to *Ilāṅ-kōv-aḍigal*, younger brother of *Śenguttuvan* would merely be another example of the Indian habit of ascribing the composition of works to distinguished figures of the past. A date in the region of A.D. 500 is much more likely to be the date of the composition of the epic than the second century A.D.

T. BURROW.

METCALFE'S MISSION TO LAHORE, 1808-1809. By V. G. KIERNAN.
Lahore, 1943. pp. 1-89. Rs. 4/12/-.

SIR WILLIAM MACNAUGHTON'S CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE
TRIPARTITE TREATY. By LAJPAT RAI NAIR. pp. 1-111.
Lahore, 1942. Rs. 2/15/-.

Far too many general histories of British rule in India and books covering too wide a field are produced both in this country and in India. Unfortunately their authors fail to make use of the scientific researches of the last thirty years. For this reason these two monographs should be warmly welcomed as the authors have restricted their researches to a limited period and have critically examined a number of unpublished sources.

Both of these monographs are concerned with much over-rated menaces to India from the direction of Central Asia. Mr. Kiernan has produced a clear and unbiased account of Metcalfe's mission to Ranjit Singh of Lahore. He confirms the fact that it was the disappearance of the French menace in Europe and elsewhere and not Metcalfe's diplomatic skill that facilitated negotiations with Ranjit Singh. No previous writer has gone so deeply into the question. The same is true of Dr. Nair's examination of the steps leading up to the Tripartite Treaty. His conclusions cannot be ignored by students interested in the origins of that melancholy piece of folly known as the First Afghan War (1839-1842).

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

INDIA IN OUTLINE. By LADY HARTOG. Cambridge University Press, 1944. 6s.

In *Living India* Lady Hartog made a useful contribution to the literature on India intended for the general reader. Her *India in Outline* includes a compact sketch of its history, social organism, industries, and administration: this provides an eminently clear background for observing the Indian situation of to-day. An additional merit is the inclusion of over thirty relevant illustrations as an integral part of the book.

Three of the chapters are particularly helpful at the present time. One places the Indian States in their proper perspective: it is precise and informative, yet not wanting in colour. Another on India and the War is descriptive of an all-round expansion and of India's great industrial war effort. A third describes the political developments in recent years; bringing into relief the salient facts in the somewhat tangled story of the two great opposing political organizations, Congress and the Moslem League. Under the last head the authoress has rightly said that the situation has caused deep and widespread concern in Britain and America, and her objective, yet sympathetic, analysis should be welcomed by people of good will.

Some of the facts emphasized are: in agriculture, the improvement in crops and live stock, and the profound change in sugar cultivation; the fundamental difficulty of keeping pace with the increase in the population in the matter of food crops and of educational facilities; the revolution in the position of women; the recognition of fiscal autonomy; and the practical extinction of the sterling debt.

J. G. CUMMING.

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA. By WILLIAM H. GILBERT, Junior. 9 × 6, pp. iv + 86, maps 3, ills. 21. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1944.

This little pamphlet, described as a War Background Study, aims most courageously at conveying a general idea of India, its history, languages, castes, scenery, and products to travellers in need of a short cut to knowledge. To put a quart into a pint pot is notoriously difficult, and much liquor *is* likely to get spilt. With this difficulty the writer has coped very cleverly, and has produced

an up-to-date summary of materials drawn from reliable sources. His description of the leading temperamental characteristics of Indians (p. 19) is particularly informing. In such a brief survey omissions are obvious. The architectural glories of Northern India, including the Tāj Mahāl, are dismissed in three lines (p. 14); the Gersoppa Falls are not mentioned, and there is nothing about the great ports of Calcutta and Bombay.

The Gujerat lions have dropped out of the fauna (p. 11). A summary of the population groups in the Bombay Presidency omits the Marāthas and Marātha Kunbis. The writer has revived Risley's now discarded discovery of the Scythians, and appears to have fallen into a common error regarding the true functions ascribed to Brahma and Shiva. The bibliography (pp. 84 et seq.) seems to have excluded many notable works, and included some of secondary importance. The plates are good, and the work, in spite of errors and omissions, of first-class merit.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

BURMA PAMPHLETS

No. 1. BURMA BACKGROUND. By B. R. PEARN.

No. 2. BURMA SETTING. By O. H. K. SPATE.

No. 3. BUDDHISM IN BURMA. By G. APPLETON.

These pamphlets are presumably addressed to the casual reader whose interest in Burma has been awakened by recent events. He will find them easy reading, intelligible, and studiously fair.

Mr. Pearn gives a sketch of the history of Burma, very summary for the earlier period but more detailed for the last two centuries, during which a new dynasty, after establishing its authority over the Irrawaddy Valley and the Shan States and securing itself against Siam and China, turned its attention to the west and came into contact with the East India Company. Justice is perhaps hardly done to the Mons, who in the Middle Ages prevented the Shan domination of Burma and were still politically important in the eighteenth century. The pamphlet ends with a useful account of constitutional developments in the years immediately preceding the present eclipse.

Mr. Spate deals with the geography of Burma as part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Physical features, climate, cultivation and industries, communications by river, rail, and road—including

some old routes recently brought into use again—are his main concern. He touches slightly on economic questions. Reviewing the natural resources of Burma he is unable to see that it has potentialities for any considerable industrial development. The distribution of races is indicated ; what is said of the daily life of the people relates mainly to the Burman inhabitants of the plains.

Burma is the present-day stronghold of the Southern school of Buddhism. The religion has played a great part in the formation of the national character, and though there are many Burmans with the vaguest knowledge of its tenets, it is more studied by the laity than Christianity ever was in Europe. Mr. Appleton has attempted to show what Buddhism means to the intelligent layman and to define the position of the Buddhist church in Burma to-day. He sees a need for a study of the Buddha and his teaching at once more devotional and more broadminded : he even suggests that Northern Buddhism will be found to have preserved fragments of an original gospel, a suggestion which can hardly be acceptable to a church whose pride is to have upheld the pure doctrine against heresy and heathendom. He laments the lack of discipline among the clergy and would favour a greater measure of State support of the Ecclesiastical Courts. "It is possible," he says, "that something more far-reaching than this is necessary and that Buddhism should be made the state religion of Burma with an annual grant for furthering truly religious objects." It follows from what he has said elsewhere that one of these objects should be the establishment of what we may call Theological Colleges, for which the period of reconstruction should offer a fair opportunity.

B. 781.

J. A. STEWART.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri

A career of exceptional distinction closed last September with the death of Kuppuswami Sastri, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Madras and Curator of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. As scholar, teacher, and librarian alike he rendered yeoman service in the cause of true learning. With the profound erudition of the traditional pandit he united a scholarly modern outlook upon literature and history which bore valuable fruits, especially in the work of his pupils and in the activities of the *Journal of Oriental Research* founded and edited by him. To such labours and to the care of the great Library of Oriental MSS., which he increased and catalogued with unflagging zeal, was unselfishly devoted the greater part of his life, and his efforts were crowned with marked success. *Optime meritis obiit.*

L. D. BARNETT.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF MRS. R. L. DEVONSHIRE

Sixteen nations were represented among the two hundred guests invited by the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires and Madame Scheyven to the Belgian Legation in Cairo on 5th April, to celebrate the 80th birthday of Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. For thirty-five years Mrs. Devonshire, who is French by birth, has been working to increase and spread the knowledge of Arab art and history not only among her English and French compatriots, but among residents and visitors in Egypt. During almost the whole of the war, 1914-18, Mrs. Devonshire conducted parties of convalescent soldiers to see the medieval mosques and monuments of Cairo, and throughout the present war she has again conducted large parties of enthusiastic members of the Forces in this special branch of sight-seeing. She has also allowed them the run of her library which is stocked with works on Arab archæology, and often she receives sixty or seventy of them a week in her home.

King Faruk marked the occasion by presenting Mrs. Devonshire with the Order of Kamal (perfection), which is limited to twelve members, all of whom are women. Speeches were made at the party by a New Zealand airman and an American sergeant-major. Then Baron de Bildt presented Mrs. Devonshire with a cheque subscribed by her friends. Mustapha Abd-al Razzak, ex-minister of Wakfs, a very old friend, made a speech in Arabic, followed by one from her compatriot the Comte de Benoist. Mrs. Devonshire delighted her hearers by a short speech first in French and then in English in which she warmly thanked her 200 friends present. All of them, she said, had helped her in some aspect of her work and had enabled her to continue it. Mrs. Devonshire has since been summoned in audience by King Faruk, who warmly thanked her for all she has done for Egypt, and expressed his renewed interest in Arab archæology.

A. P. V. C.

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

11th May, 1944

Sir Richard Winstedt, President, in the Chair, regretted that during the year the following Members had died :—

Professor D. B. Macdonald (Hon.), Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha (Hon.), Sir H. J. Maynard, Sir Aurel Stein, Messrs. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyer, F. O. Lechmere-Oertel and G. T. Tickell ; Rev. C. T. Harley Walker.

The following resigned :—

Captain R. B. Dent and Mrs. A. M. Patey.

Forty-five new members took up their election :—

Raja Kalyak Singh ; Sir John G. Cumming, Sir George Hill ; Lieut.-Col. K. Cantlie, Captains A. C. F. Green and A. E. Yohalem, Fl. Lieut. G. Samson, Lieut. H. D. Martin, Havildar M. A. Wahid ; Professor E. Gangulee, Dr. F. Turk ; Messrs. M. S. Abdul-Basith, O. H. Bedford, A. H. Brodrick, E. C. Calverley, O. E. Crouse, V. d'Alton, H. Davis, C. A. Dhairyam, R. W. Edgley, H. E. Faulkner, Romy Fink, H. C. Gleave, P. J. Gomes, C. Humphreys, A. S. Jenkins, K. N. Kaul, J. Leveen, E. C. MacLaurin, E. G. Meek, D. G. Maitland Muller, G. D. L. Millar, S. Morris, J. E. Orr, C. A. Pillai, C. L. Schweinburg, H. L. Shuttleworth, F. Thorburn, and S. Tolkowsky ; Mrs. M. H. V. Culley, Mrs. A. C. F. Green, Mrs. E. A. May, Miss Janaki-Ammal, and Miss Venu Chitalé.

Lectures.

"Some Aspects of Chinese Poetry," by Dr. George Yeh.

"The Gobi that once was," by Miss Mildred Cable.

"The Life and Scenery of Siam," by Dr. Reginald le May.

"Film Strips of India," by Messrs. H. E. Dance, E. H. Hunt, K. de B. Codrington, and C. Tierney.

Universities Essay Prize.—Owing to the war there were no candidates.

Triennial Gold Medal.—It was unanimously agreed to present this to Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., F.B.A., Litt.D.

Society's Publications, 1943-4.—Owing to war conditions there

were no publications except an urgently needed second edition of Commander Isemonger's *Elements of Japanese Writing*.

Donations.—The Council was deeply indebted to the British Academy for a further donation of £200, to the late Lady Holmwood for a legacy of valuable books, to Mrs. Pettigrew for MSS. and books on Manipuri, and to Mr. A. F. L. Beeston for a monetary donation.

His Grace the Duke of Westminster again remitted £100 of the normal rent of the premises.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

After twenty years of devoted service to the Society in the capacity of Honorary Treasurer, Mr. E. S. M. Perowne was compelled by circumstances consequent on the war to resign. It was impossible for the Council to express adequately their gratitude to Mr. Perowne for what he did for the Society.

Professor A. S. Tritton was nominated a Vice-President; Professor E. D. Edwards as Honorary Secretary; Dr. L. D. Barnett, Honorary Librarian; and Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Honorary Treasurer.

Sir Edward Maclagan, Professor H. A. R. Gibb, Dr. J. Burrow, Dr. J. Heyworth-Dunne, and Dr. E. J. Lindgren were nominated members of Council.

It was hoped that circumstances would soon permit of the publication of a list of the Society's Members and of its rules.

The Society was greatly indebted to Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitors since 1886, for their generous advice and help.

After commenting upon the above Report, the President called upon the Hon. Treasurer to make his annual statement.

The Hon. Treasurer said the Society had been fortunate in having Mr. Perowne's experienced guidance through difficult years. Thanks to him it had passed the worst with a balance to carry into the future. The position had not deteriorated in 1943 and there were signs that 1944 would show an improvement.

The accounts had not yet been audited. When staffs were short one had to wait on auditors' convenience.

Subscriptions had amounted to £595, practically the same as the year before, the first time for years that there had not been a serious decrease. A fall of about £300 in grants was due mainly

to the insertion in last year's accounts of a donation for two years of the £200 given annually since the war by the British Academy. No grants were received from the Governments of Burma, Malaya, or Hong Kong, but the Society had received for 1944 half the old grants. Receipts from rents rose by £313. An item of £115 recalled the kindly interest taken by the late Lady Holmwood in the Society.

Rates had increased by £140 owing to the letting of rooms. There was an increase of about £150 in salaries and wages, due partly to a rise in the salary of our Secretary, Mrs. Davis, who had been coping single-handed with the work of the Society and its Library on most inadequate pay. The item of £103 for Fire-Watching Expenses was unavoidable war expenditure. At the end of the year there was a credit balance of £229.

Sir Josiah Crosby proposed the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

It was very proper that the people of Britain, long one of the greatest among the Asiatic Powers, should take an interest in the art, culture, history, and archæology of Asia, and there was no better means of keeping interest alive than by the maintenance of a foundation like the Royal Asiatic Society. Apart from the specific activities of the Society, it was no small advantage that, in these grim days when considerations of a sternly practical nature had to come first, it should continue to stimulate interest not so much in things immediately useful as in things of the mind and spirit which, though less directly practical, are of the highest importance for the progress of mankind.

Few of his audience, perhaps, realized how great the handicap of the war was. There were financial difficulties. There was the paper shortage which affected the publication of the *Journal* and of Monographs. The President, the members of the Council, and the other officers of the Society were keeping the lamp alight within the shrine, and seeing to it that the doors of the temple were not altogether closed. When the war ended they would, he felt sure, still be serving within the temple, its doors once again flung wide, for the resumption of wonted offices in all their old completeness.

Sir Patrick Cadell, in seconding Sir Josiah Crosby's motion, desired to emphasize the great debt the Society owed to Sir Richard Winstedt for his constant care of its interests, and to Mrs. Davis for the devoted and unwearying service she had rendered.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1942				286	10	10
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	239	8	0			
Non-Resident Members	327	18	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	9	3	5			
Resident Compounders	18	18	0			
				595	7	5
DONATIONS—						
Beeston, A. F. L.				5	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	283	10	0			
British Academy	200	0	0			
				483	10	0
RENTS RECEIVED				543	15	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	164	8	0			
Additional Copies sold	21	9	0			
Pamphlets sold	8	5				
				186	5	5
DIVIDENDS				73	16	10
SALE OF CATALOGUE				11	6	10
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES						4 6
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				4	8	11
SALE OF PART OF LADY HOLMWOOD'S LEGACY OF BOOKS				115	0	0
SALE OF INDIAN ANTIQUARY				30	0	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				56	6	9

£2,391 12 6

INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

NOTE

£1,199 3s. 8d. is outstanding as a liability, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account when general funds permit.

PAYMENTS FOR 1943

PAYMENTS

[illegible]

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
3 Fredericks Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { R. BURN, Auditor for the Council.
J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE, Auditor for the Society.

28th October, 1944.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1943

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/43	795	1	6	BALANCE REPRESENTED						
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT .	30	10	6	BY £800 Ss. 6d. 3¼%						
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE-INVESTED .	28	18	3	War Stock	825	12	0			
				Cash at Bank	28	18	3			
								854	10	3
	£854	10	3					£854	10	3

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1943

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
BALANCE, 1/1/43	99	9	4	STORAGE OF STOCK	3	5	3
SALES	31	8	10	SUNDRIES			9
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT		6	0	31/12/43 BALANCE CARRIED TO	127	18	2
				SUMMARY			
	£131	4	2		£131	4	2

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/43	128 12 0	31/12/43 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
SALES	12 19 10	SUMMARY	141 11 10
	<u>£141 11 10</u>		<u>£141 11 10</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1943

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	127 18 2	CASH AT BANK—		
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONO-		On Current Account	209 10 0	
GRAPH FUND	141 11 10	On Deposit Account	60 0 0	
			<hr/>	269 10 0
	<hr/>			<hr/>
	£269 10 0			£269 10 0

INVESTMENTS. Nil.

TRUST FUNDS, 1943

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/43	157 13 1	ROYALTIES	40 16 0
SALES	10 11 3	31/12/43 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
DIVIDENDS	18 0 0	SUMMARY	145 8 4
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£186 4 4		£186 4 4

GOLD MEDAL FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/43	69 1 5	31/12/43 BALANCE CARRIED TO	78 16 5
DIVIDENDS	9 15 0	SUMMARY	
	<u>£78 16 5</u>		<u>£78 16 5</u>

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/43	163 12 2	31/12/43 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
DIVIDENDS	20 15 4	SUMMARY	184 7 6
	<u>£184 7 6</u>		<u>£184 7 6</u>

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/43	136	4	2	31/12/43 BALANCE CARRIED TO	147	11	1
DIVIDENDS	11	6	11	SUMMARY	147	11	1
	£147	11	1		£147	11	1

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1943

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	145	8	4	31/12/43 CASH AT BANK ON			
GOLD MEDAL FUND	78	16	5	CURRENT ACCOUNT	556	3	4
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND .	184	7	6				
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT .	147	11	1				
	£556	3	4		£556	3	4

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
 £40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 ("B" account).
 Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1943

BALANCE, 1/1/43	11	7	8	BALANCE—CASH AT BANK ON	12	17	4
DIVIDENDS	1	9	8	CURRENT ACCOUNT			
	£12	17	4		£12	17	4

BURTON FUND INVESTMENT

£49 0s. 10d. Local Loans 3% Stock.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1943

BALANCE, 1/1/43	344	13	10	R.A.S. COMMISSION ON 1942 SALES	4	8	11
DIVIDENDS	151	16	1	REPRINTING 486 VOL. VIII	174	10	0
SALES	276	13	2	PURCHASE OF £304 5s. 8d. BANK OF			
REDEMPTION OF £1143 6s. 3d. 3½% ENGLAND STOCK				1,143	6	3	
INDIA STOCK	1,143	6	3	PURCHASE OF £1031 12s. 7d. 3% SAVINGS BONDS 1960/70	1,031	12	7
ACQUISITION OF £1010 BENGAL-NAGPUR RLY. 4% DEBENTURE .	1,031	12	7	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	594	4	2
	£2,948	1	11		£2,948	1	11

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENT

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942-62.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940-60.
 £1,031 12s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.
 £304 5s. 8d. Bank of England Stock.
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 ("A" account).
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balance.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
 3 Fredericks Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { R. BURN, Auditor for the Council.
 J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE, Auditor for the Society.

28th October, 1944.

The Report with its recommendations was unanimously adopted. Sir William Peel for the Council and Dr. le May for the members were elected auditors, with Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. as the professional auditors.

The President said that the history of the Society revealed two ever-present difficulties. As early as 1858 there were complaints that branch and kindred societies were snatching contributions that were proper provender for the parent *Journal*. But the Society viewed and could afford to view with benevolence societies that advertised to the world the wealth of Oriental material and the importance of Oriental studies. The Society's other trouble had been the pecuniary one common to such Societies. There was more interest in Oriental studies now than ever before, but the income tax collector at the moment prevented many from joining learned societies. Times had changed since the Prince Consort could find leisure to attend the Society's meeting, and the Society had changed with the times. Symbolical of these changes were the alterations in its badge. At first it was a banyan-tree with an elephant beneath its shade. Then the elephant was liquidated. Now the tree had gone and the elephant had been resurrected and held the field. He had sometimes wished the beast were in the form of Ganeṣa, the god of wisdom and remover of obstacles. To one principle the Society had kept constant : it took no part in politics. St. Augustine once lamented that his enjoyment of Virgil led him to weep over Dido, when he should have been weeping for his sins. The Royal Asiatic Society was pledged to keep its tears for Dido and not to weep over the sins of modern governments. And in the field of scholarship the Society had reason to be proud of its work. The translation of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Chinese classics ; the decipherment of world-famous cuneiform inscriptions ; the inauguration of the Indian Records Series and of India's archæological department ; the founding of London's Indian Museum and of its School of Oriental Studies—for all these projects the Society had lent its support and exerted its influence.

The Society owed an incalculable debt to its Secretary, Mrs. Davis. When one heard the constant calls of her telephone and knew of the many interviews that interrupted her endless work, one felt that her name should have been Siti Sabariah, "Our lady of patience."

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